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CONTENTS

	PAGE
A SURVEY OF FORMULAE IN THE MINIATURE PAINTING OF WESTERN INDIA	133
<i>By ALVAN C. EASTMAN</i>	
THE ITALO-GALLIC SCHOOL OF EARLY CHRIS- TIAN ART	145
<i>By ALEXANDER COBURN SOPER</i>	
EARLY CHRISTIAN SILVER OF NORTH ITALY AND GAUL	193
<i>By HJÖRVARDUR HARVARD ÁRNASON</i>	
NOTES AND REVIEWS	227



FIG. 1—Detroit, Institute of Arts: Detail of a Leaf from a
Western Indian Manuscript, c. 1462 A.D.

A SURVEY OF FORMULAE IN THE MINIATURE PAINTING OF WESTERN INDIA

By ALVAN C. EASTMAN

THE material in this paper is based upon observations made from the examination of the plates of the *Kālakācāryakathā* reproduced in W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, and in his *Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue of the Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra* (Freer Gallery of Art, *Oriental Studies* 1 and 2, Washington, 1933-1934); and in A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, part IV, *Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts*, (Boston, 1924).

Before making our general observations, a word as to the style and historical importance of the Western Indian Style of miniature painting. Brown says:¹ "This Western Indian School is one of great importance in the history of Indian painting. For one thing, it contains all the Western Indian painting, whether of large or small dimensions known to exist over a period of some centuries, containing the sequence of the frescoes at Ajanta, Bagh, and Elura. For another, it is the parent, on the Indian side, that in union with the Persian schools, on the other, gave birth to the Rajput and Mughal styles, so prolifically cultivated and so well known."

Regarding style, as so admirably stated by Coomaraswamy:² "This is an art of symbols and indifferent to representation." Although "pure drawing" it is not "calligraphic." There is "no elegance or elegant combination of lines which is deliberately sought and this scene is more like script made to be easily and clearly read . . ." "There is no preoccupation with pattern, color, or texture for their own sakes." "Drawing has the perfect equilibrium of a mathematical equation or a page from a composer's score . . ." "Theme and formulae compose an inseparable unity; text and pattern form a continuous relation of the same dogma in the same key." These formulae are many and among them are "an elevated viewpoint with horizon reaching nearly to the top of the page in landscape subjects, leaving only a narrow strip of sky in which are depicted heavy storm clouds . . ." "The clouds are depicted differently from Chinese or Persian, but like Rajput painting and older sculpture and eighteenth century Sinhalese painting . . ." "Water is represented by lines crossing at various angles with or without fish. A lotus rosette is employed often to fill space as in Sinhalese art . . ." "Rocks are represented by an accumulation of jagged peaks, not like anything else in Indian art, but related to South Indian Palampore designs."

Observations made in this survey upon accessories such as costumes, jewelry, cosmetics, coiffures and auras are based mainly upon miniatures published in the three works men-

1. Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, p. 13 f. It should be stated here that this publication of Brown's is unquestionably the most significant on Western Indian painting, as well as the foremost study of the *Kālakācāryakathā*, both factually and as interpretation. It will remain a sourcebook and

point of departure for art historians and linguists who may want to add their share to the study of Jaina painting and literature.

2. Coomaraswamy, *Jaina Paintings*, pp. 35 ff.

tioned above, the only important lengthy works on the subject. It is hoped that the following summary will prove useful to museums as a guide in the tabulation of iconographic formulae—it being understood that I refer to those museums having insufficient material in Jaina painting to be called a collection. Where no date is given, color and style of manuscript, page, and painting seem still to be a better clue to approximate dating than accessories, since formulae for the latter often continue without change from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless, because of their formal interest, accessories are included in this study, which will be developed as follows:

- I. COSTUME PATTERNS
- II. JEWELRY
- III. COIFFURES
- IV. COSMETICS
- V. AURAS
- VI. STUDY OF A SPECIFIC MINIATURE

In *The Story of Kālaka* there are reproduced for the first time two miniatures from a remarkable palm leaf manuscript now in the library of the Sāntinātha temple, Nagin Dās, Bhaṇḍār, Cambay.³ This manuscript of the Jñātasūtra, dated 1127 A.D., has the earliest known specimens of Western Indian Miniatures.⁴ The next oldest miniature paintings are found in Hemacandra's Mahāvīracaritra, at Patan, dated 1237 A.D.⁵ And, following these, two miniatures in Hemacandra's Nemināthacaritra, dated 1241 A.D. now in the library of the Sāntinātha temple, Cambay,⁶ together with a color plate from a palm leaf manuscript in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts of the Sāvaga 'padikammaṇa'sutta' cūṇi showing both a monk and the goddess Sarasvatī, dated 1260 A.D.⁷ And, lastly, there are four miniatures from two palm leaf manuscripts of the Kalpa Sūtra and Kālakācāryakathā, the earliest known of this type having miniatures; the first two in the Sanghavike-Pādāka Bhaṇḍār, at Patan, dated 1278 A.D.; the others in the Sanghakā Bhaṇḍār, at Patan, dated 1279 A.D.⁸ From these few earliest Śvetāmbara miniature paintings it will unfortunately not be possible to make a complete tabulation of Jaina formulae. A few of the most frequently found patterns will be illustrated below.

One of the interesting observations in reference to these early paintings is that many kinds of jewelry for deities and royalty, common from the fifteenth century through the period of the Rajput influence, appear as early as in Hemacandra's Mahāvīracaritra manuscript, dated 1237. Sources for the patterns of women's garments seen in the later manuscripts can be traced to the thirteenth century. That many types of jewelry, and, more important, that a few costume patterns should have survived with little change for four centuries is remarkable. It indicates, on the one hand, perhaps, the austerity and vitality of the Jain religion, which, having once established its formulae among artisans, retained them practically unchanged for centuries. On the other hand, it indicates the activity of copyists, who, at the order of a patron, executed many manuscripts after earlier ones. These were never copies in the sense we use the term today; the manuscripts from which copies were made were rather guides as to style and iconography.

Another observation to be made is that, unlike the costume patterns for women, those

3. Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, figs. 1 and 2; throughout this article dating is given in our calendar, it being understood that this is equivalent to the corresponding Samvat of the Jains.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 15 and 18.

5. Nahar and Ghose, *Epitome of Jainism*, Calcutta, 1917,

pl. facing p. 706; Shah, C. J., *Jainism in North India*, London, 1932, pl. 8.

6. Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, figs. 3 and 4.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. 2, figs. 5 and 6.

8. *Ibid.*, pls. 2 and 3, figs. 7-10.

for men seem to undergo a decided change in the fifteenth century, becoming both more varied and more elaborate. The sources, however, for some of these elaborate patterns are to be found in single motifs in the patterns of the thirteenth century manuscripts. In a number of instances, patterns used by women in the thirteenth century become stock patterns for male deities and royalty in the later manuscripts and continue so until the Moghul period.

I. COSTUME PATTERNS

1. For kings, princes, and male deities:

(1) Four-petaled flower pattern. This is first found in Hemacandra's *Mahāvīracaritra* manuscript of 1237,⁹ on the sleeve of King Kumārapāla. It is presumed the motif appears on other parts of the garment, although that cannot be seen from the reproduction. It is not used, however, as an allover pattern, as in the later miniatures. An example of its use in the fifteenth century is found in the *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscript in the Boston Museum dated 1497.¹⁰ The motif also appears on *dhotis* (cf. Fig. 2).¹¹

(2) Geometric pattern composed of circles and bands. This is found on the *dhoti* in the manuscript of 1237, mentioned above.

(3) Even-cross pattern (Fig. 3).¹² Found also on the banded scarf in the manuscript of 1237.

(4) Dotted pattern. As above, on the scarf. Also found later, on *dhotis*.

(5) Checkerboard pattern. Found first in the manuscript of 1279 on the deity Śakra in the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā*.¹³ Although this pattern is not identical with those of later miniatures, it does anticipate them, as seen in the miniature of Śakra.

The above five patterns are the only ones found on male costumes as early as the thirteenth century, to judge from miniatures so far

reproduced. The patterns that follow are found in the fifteenth century on *dhotis*, as are also the four-petaled flower motif, and the dotted motif, as mentioned above.

(6) Banded zigzag (Fig. 1).

(7) Dotted circles in rosette form (Fig. 4).¹⁴

(8) Striped or plaid pattern with dotted centers and sometimes diamond and cross-shaped centers (Fig. 5).¹⁵

9. Shah, C. J., *op. cit.*, pl. 8. The reproduction is a modern copy of the original and its color is probably not in exact correspondence.

10. Brown, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 14, fig. 49.

11. The sketch, of King Siddhārtha, is after a *Kalpa Sūtra* ms. in the Boston Museum of c. 1497. Cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 47; pl. 6, fo. 24, and Brown, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 14, fig. 48.

12. Goddess Ambikā, from Hemacandra's *Neminātha-*

caritra in the Śāntinātha temple, Bhaṇdār, Cambay, c. 1298. Cf., Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, pl. 1, fig. 4.

13. Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, pl. 3, fig. 9.

14. King Siddhārtha, from a *Kalpa Sūtra* ms., possibly of the 15th century. Cf. Brown, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 14, fig. 47; Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 42; pl. 2, fo. 36.

15. King Siddhārtha, from a *Kalpa Sūtra* ms. of c. 1497. Cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 46; pl. 6, fo. 23.



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

covering the body from shoulder to ankles and is of semi-transparent material, often called muslin. The garment patterns of monks vary less, because of the necessity for pious simplicity, but there is a slight difference to be noted between the later and earlier styles. In the manuscript of 1237, the Guru Hemacandra is clothed in a white robe, leaving the right shoulder bare. There is no ornamentation whatever. Like this are the clerical costumes in the manuscripts of 1260 and 1278, except that in the latter the monks' robes cover their bodies to their necks. The following patterns appear in later centuries:

- (1) Allover dotted pattern.
- (2) Groups of three or four dots.
- (3) Checkerboard pattern with dotted centers and straight lines.
- (4) Checkerboard pattern with dotted centers and wavy lines.
- (5) Dotted circles with dotted center in rosette form as in the example from Detroit (Fig. 1) which will be dealt with in detail below. These simple dotted patterns have a variety of directions—horizontal, vertical, and circular—to suggest folds or the manner in which a garment hangs. Ornament on these garments is, without exception, white.

II. JEWELRY

1. *Crowns, Kiriṭa mukṭa*:

Deities in the earliest manuscripts published, e.g., Hemacandra's *Nemināthacaritra* (1241) have a crown of low diadem type and rather irregular outline, not unlike an *uṣṇiṣa*

16. *Sakra*, after a *Kalpa Sūtra* ms., probably of the 16th century. Cf., Brown, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 4, fig. 11. See also the lower register of Fig. 1, where Kālaka has this pattern. It is also used by kings.

17. Queen *Trīśalā* (birth of Mahāvīra), after a *Kalpa Sūtra* ms. of c. 1407. Cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 47 pl. 6, fo. 28; and "A *Hamsa-laksana* Sari," in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Boston, June, 1927.



FIG. 5

bhūṣāṇa and with jeweled pointed cresting on the forehead. In style and shape it is unquestionably the precedent for the later variety. This is more clearly recognized in Ambikā's crown in the manuscript of 1279.¹⁸ Some crowns are three pointed more like an *uṣṇīṣa bhūṣāṇa* and heavily adorned with jewels, the edge set with pearls; while other crowns are single pointed and adorned with few or no jewels, as in the case of the Detroit miniature (Fig. 1), where Jewels are indicated by crimson on the surface of the crown.

The earliest type of elaborate crown (with pearls) in Jaina painting appears in the manuscript of 1497 in the Boston Museum.¹⁹ Here Kālaka wears a pearl and jeweled crown of a type regularly used by deities of major rank only, such as Indra or Mahāvīra. Crowns of the tiara kind, high arched over the forehead and rising to a point are characteristically worn by all Jainas.

Other kinds of crown commonly seen in Jaina paintings are those worn by Sāhis or princes of the Saka race. These are round crowns with three short vertical points.²⁰ Gardabhilla, the evil king of the Sakas, wears a crown of the Saka type in one of the miniatures of the manuscript of 1497, while, in another, he wears a crown of the Jaina type.

As far as I know, deities and personages of minor rank are, with one exception, represented with simpler ornaments in crowns and jewelry. The exception can be seen in the representation of the courtesan and the king's charioteer.²¹

2. Necklaces, *Māla*:

Deities have the same type of necklace as in the later manuscripts, except that it is simpler; Tīrthankaras, as in the manuscript of 1241, wear but one necklace and that the type with pendant hanging on the chest.

Kālaka and kings, as in the manuscript of 1237, wear, as in the later miniatures, but one necklace, the simple, long, beaded necklace falling to the waist, a beaded wristlet, and unadorned anklets. The necklace may be a linked type with beading on outer and inner edge. There are no published instances of kings or of Kālaka wearing more than one necklace.

Women, on the other hand, such as Ambikā in the manuscript of 1241, have, as in later miniatures, more than one necklace and often wear the beaded, short collar variety, and a long beaded chain hanging to the waist; they also wear circular banded armlets and wristlets that are also beaded, and anklets.

18. Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, pl. 3, fig. 10. But C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, frontispiece, and pls. 5 and 8, reproduces two miniatures, one of Pārśva and the other of Mahāvīra, with crowns and jewelry identical with later manuscripts, and assigns a thirteenth century dating to them. No comment or reason is given other than that they are palm leaf manuscripts. As these differ sharply from thirteenth century manuscripts reproduced by Brown, and for reasons of style, I am inclined to place them in the 14th century. They show stock formulae in

jewelry types. Their arrangements on Tīrthankaras and kings are already firmly established, and the 15th century merely continues the tradition. This applies to crowns, necklaces, armlets, wristlets, and anklets of the elaborate style.

19. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 48; pl. 9, fo. 72.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 49; pl. 9, fo. 74.

21. Identified by Brown, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 41, fig. 139; cf., also, Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 53; pl. 15, fo. 100.



FIG. 7



FIG. 6

There are three types of necklace found from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries:

(1) A broad linked necklace, possibly gold, lying flat on the skin, ornamented with round, large, jeweled beadings on the inner and outer edges. This necklace is worn mainly by Mahāvīra when enthroned and occupying a central position in the picture. Others who may wear it are Indra and the two women associated with his birth (Devānandā and Triśalā), and the Tīrthankaras, "Finders of the Ford," crossing the ocean of rebirth, and Siddhas, "Perfected Souls Freed from Rebirth." This variety of necklace covers the knees in a loop when the wearer is seated.

(2) A simple beaded necklace which hangs only as far as the waist. It is generally of one, not two strands of beads—and is a necklace worn by Kālaka, kings, and princes. The beads probably represent jewels. Mahāvīra and Indra, and, less generally, the ladies Triśalā and Devānandā wear this simpler type. When the wearer is seated it reaches the length of the body. It is looped over both shoulders and passes under the elbows and over the thighs.

(3) A necklace to which is attached a pendant of diamond shape with a jeweled center and sides. The necklace is usually a bead string, more elaborate forms having gold bead links, the inner and outer sides beaded with jewels. The necklace with diamond-shaped pendant is worn by kings and deities. A round pendant variety is worn invariably by queens.

3. Armlets, Keyūra:

Deities wear (1) an arched armlet with jewels or pearls, corresponding in shape to a single pointed crown, and (2) less commonly, a round armband with or without jeweled beading.

Kings and princes commonly wear (1) a round armlet with or without jeweled beading, and (2) sometimes an arched armlet with or without the beading. The arched armlet similar to those worn by deities are commonly worn by King Siddhārtha, who is associated with Mahāvīra's birth. Princes like Kālaka, and others, appear to wear only the round armlet.

Queens, as far as I have observed, wear only the round armlet with or without beading. The arched and beaded armlet is apparently reserved only for males. However, feminine deities like Ambikā and the goddess Śrī are sometimes shown with both the beaded arched and the round armlet.²²

4. Wristlets, Kankana:

Deities, kings and princes seldom wear more than one type of bracelet and that is usually a tight-fitting beaded or jeweled wrist band. In a manuscript of the Kalpa Sūtra of the seventeenth century²³ deities and kings wear two or more bracelets—one like those worn in the fifteenth century by queens only: a loose-fitting, pearlized wristlet.

Three types of wrist jewelry are worn by queens, as a rule:

(1) A close-fitting, metal wristlet worn on the forearm, probably gold.

(2) A loose-fitting, jeweled, pearlized wristlet which appears to be a purely feminine form.

(3) A jeweled or pearlized, close-fitting wristlet worn near the hand. Sometimes the number varies, in which case the tight-fitting, metal wristlet, and the loose-fitting, pearlized variety are adornments usually represented.

Although the second type seems to be a typically feminine wristlet, a few exceptions occur in which deities and kings wear it. These exceptions—in five manuscripts of the Kalpa Sūtra and Kālakacāryākathā, all but the one in the Freer Gallery—are assigned to

22. Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, pl. 1, fig. 4, and, *idem*, *Minature Paintings*, pl. 7, fig. 24.

23. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 50; pl. 11, fos. 8 and 10.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and belong to the Heeramaneck Galleries. Only one of the five is dated, 1512.

Most of the miniatures showing either kings or deities with the feminine variety, the loose-fitting, pearl-wristlet, are from a single *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscript attributed to the sixteenth century.²⁴ Although two instances of such wristlets worn by males are there reproduced from a manuscript in the Freer Gallery as possibly of the fifteenth century, it would appear that the feminine wristlet was first worn by males when Jainism became less austere, about the sixteenth century. A manuscript in the Boston Museum²⁵ is attributed to the seventeenth century, and in it males have the wristlet described above. No manuscripts actually dated in the fifteenth century showing kings, male deities, or princes with this variety of wristlet have been published, although I have observed this variety first on women in a manuscript dated 1462 of which the Detroit Institute of Arts owns one leaf, showing Lady *Devānandā* and the Fourteen Dreams. The thirteenth century manuscripts do not appear to have this wristlet, and, so far as I know, neither do those of the fourteenth. The loose, pearl-wristlet did not, in any case, come into wide vogue until the middle of the fifteenth century or thereabouts, and it was first commonly worn by queens and feminine deities. In the manuscript of the Heeramaneck Gallery of 1512, this wristlet is worn to a limited extent by kings and male deities. It continues in vogue through the seventeenth century, although it is seldom worn as commonly by men as by women.

5. Earrings, *Kundala*:

Male deities, kings, and princes wear the large circular earring, usually of jeweled beading, and clasped in the slit made in the distended lobe of the ear. This appears first in the manuscript of 1241; then in that of 1279.¹³ This is the masculine variety, *kundala*, and has little variation. Sometimes, however, it is seen without the beading, although the inner area may be ornamented, as it frequently is, with "spokes" or groups of dots. This is especially true in the case of early Jaina painting.

Queens wear the feminine earring, *karn-phūl*, composed of two parts: a large, round, beaded earring like the masculine type—but inserted in, not through the lower lobe of the ear—and a rosette, inserted in the upper lobe. The part worn in the lower lobe is called the "ear flower," *karn-phūl*, the small rosette on the upper lobe, *bali*.

6. Anklets, *Nupura*:

Male deities, kings and princes are generally shown with anklets of both the beaded and unbeaded variety, but they are not worn invariably, as are necklaces, crowns, and other jewelry.

III. COIFFURES

Deities and monks are tonsured, and wear a kind of mutton-chop whisker. On kings the hair is knotted on the back of the head, and the face is all bearded. Both men and women among the Jains have long hair; all men, however, do it up in a knot. On queens the hair is long and bound at the back of the neck, frequently tied with a long black cord ending in a tassel. In general, it is the formula that kings, male attendants, and soldiers—but not Jinas and monks—are bearded and have mustaches. This is also applicable to kings and soldiers of the Saka race. Beardless figures, other than Jinas, deities, and monks, are always women.

IV. COSMETICS

A *chhap*, or U-shaped sectarian mark on the forehead, appears on all classes—monks and women excepted—of Jain society and Sakas. Brahmans and priests are marked with the

24. Brown, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 9, fig. 31; pl. 10, fig. 35; pl. 13, fig. 45, etc.

chhap. All deities are so marked except when in a state of perfection, *siddha*, or freedom from rebirth, in which case the *tilaka*, or spot which appears on women is used, unless replaced by a beaded or circular jeweled ornament enclosed in a black, circular or starshaped outline. Queens and other women always have the *tilaka* in the middle of the forehead, which is the distinguishing mark for the sex. This is made with sandal paste, *candana*, or it may be, as is shown frequently in miniatures of *Trīśalā* and *Devānandā*, a beaded jewel of circular shape.

V. AURAS

Auras in the Jaina miniatures are worn by all crowned personages, as a rule, but, in some instances, the crown alone is represented. Saka kings and princes never have auras. The shape of auras seems to vary according to hierachic formulae, while the elaborateness



FIG. 8

or simplicity is dependent upon the individual artist, and somewhat upon stylistic formulae of the century in which the work is done. In some cases, auras are radiant with jewels; in most instances, they are plain. The accompanying illustrations show representative examples:

- (1) For deities (Tīrthankaras and Jinas), usually in meditation (Fig. 8).²⁵
- (2) For kings and queens (Fig. 3).²⁶
- (3) For Kālaka (Fig. 6).²⁷
- (4) For Gurus, or apostles of Mahāvīra (Fig. 9).²⁸
- (5) For Sakra (Indra) cf. Fig. 10.²⁹

I have seen no literature treating auras from a hierarchical point of view as to shapes and meanings, and all conclusions suggested above must be regarded as tentative.³⁰

25. Fig. 8, left, has crowns and tassels attached. Fig. 8, center, is after the aura of a Tīrthaikara of c. 1127; cf. Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, pl. 1, fig. 1. Fig. 8, right, is the aura of a Tīrthankara of possibly the 15th century; cf. Brown, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 1, fig. 3.

26. Deities may also have this more elaborate jeweled aura, when crowned, but only in poses other than that of meditation, when they have the simple, unadorned aura, or the diadem with tassels. See the aura of a Kalpa Sūtra ms. of c. 1497 where King Siddhārtha is represented as listening to his queen, Rāṇī Trīśalā, relate her dreams. Both have the same aura. Cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 46; pl. 6, fo. 23.

27. Cf. also Fig. 1.

28. Here the semicircle appears to be attached to the throne back and joins a rectangular line which carries down to the base of the mandir in which the Guru is seated. The pointed outline is the aura. This is also the aura of a Jina or Tīrthankara when in a mandir or temple, or of Gurus or apostles of Mahāvīra when seated in a temple. The illustration, Fig. 9 is from a Kalpa Sūtra ms. representing

a monk; cf., Brown, *Miniature Paintings*, pl. 43, fig. 145.

29. From the aura of a deity, Sakra. After a Kalpa Sūtra ms. of 1279. Cf. Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, pl. 3, fig. 9.

30. The costume patterns for Sakra, Sakas, and Sāhis are evidently treated with far greater variety of pattern than is seen in the case of Jaina kings or deities. In all the patterns of Sāhi costumes that I have seen reproduced, whether for deities, royalty, or lay folk, they vary not only in different, but frequently in the same manuscripts, a fact seldom noted in the case of the Jains. Brown is the first, I believe, to call attention to the similarities between Mongol-Persian painting and the treatment of Sāhis in Jaina painting. Not only can this easily be demonstrated, but the costume patterns of Saka kings, and sometimes of Sakras, can be shown to exist in the patterns of Persian medieval ceramics—as I hope to show in another paper. Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, pp. 9-11, discusses the Saka race and dynasty at some length. Cf., especially, Konow, *Kharoṣṭī Inscriptions in Corpus Indicarum*, II, 1929, pt. I, introduction.

VI

There follows an extension of the above approach to miniature painting of western India in the form of a detailed description of a specific miniature. For this purpose I have chosen a leaf from a *Kālakācāryakathā*, dated 1462 A.D. and now in the Detroit Institute of Arts. On the leaf are depicted three scenes, of which two are here reproduced (Fig. 1): That in the upper panel represents the conversion of Prince Kālaka by the monk Guṇākara;³¹ that in the lower panel, Kālaka leading his horse in a wood.

The conversion scene shows Kālaka as prince, crowned and wearing jewelry, clad in garments covering the waist and legs to a little below the knees, seated, forearm raised, hands palmed in prayer, looking to the right and facing a Jain monk, Guṇākara, who is instructing him. Guṇākara is seated on a spired throne, with his body in full face and his head in two-thirds profile towards Kālaka; his left foot is planted firmly on the base of the throne, his right bent in front of the body; his right hand is held up, a little above and in front of the palmed hands of Kālaka, in a position of instructing, a manuscript between the thumb and first finger. Guṇākara is robed in white, indicating that he belongs to the *Svetāmbara* sect, whose monks are clad, as distinguished from the *Digambara* or nude sect,³² only his right shoulder, arms, and feet remain bare. Under his right arm he carries a broom. A small table on four thin cross legs stands between the two figures.

1. *Legend or theme:*

Kālaka is the hero prince of the *Kālakācāryakathā*, one of the important uncanonical texts of Jain literature, often appended to the canonical *Kalpa Sūtra*, which illustrates the life of Mahāvīra, founder of Jainism, and other saviors. Later, Kālaka became a convert to Jainism, joining the order and securing a number of princes for it. As illustrated, the conversion took place in a mango park during a drive home, where Kālaka stopped to listen to the words of a Jain monk, Guṇākara, preaching to the people. The rest of the story concerns Kālaka's establishment as head of the order, his dethronement of the evil king, Gardabhilla of Ujjayinī, enemy of Jainism, in spite of the latter's formidable assistance of she-ass magic, and the setting up of the good rule of the Saka dynasty. The pattern of the story is a favorite in India: a hero-prince and convert to monastic orders deserts a life of luxury at court in the interest of spreading the Faith. After waging war upon evil, he gives his services to mankind, establishes a good rule and becomes exemplary prince by loyalty and service to the Saka people.

Especially is this evidenced through adherence to the Faith, continuance of teaching, and restoration of justice.³³

2. *Identification:*

Since the lower scene of Figure 1 obviously represents a wood with a riderless horse led

31. Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, p. 52 f. The identification of Guṇākara was first made clear in this work.

32. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

33. The passage from the *Kālakācāryakathā* explaining this scene is translated by Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, p. 52 f. as follows: "Once upon a time, when Kālaka was returning from horseback riding, in a mango grove he heard a sound, sweet and deep like the rumble of rain-laden clouds, and out of curiosity he went to investigate it. And there he saw

the reverend Guṇākara Ācārya with his retinue of noble monks preaching to many folk the religion expounded by the Jinas, and, after reverencing Guṇākara, he sat down before him. The reverend Guṇākara, with the prince in mind, began excellently to preach the religion as follows: 'Just as one tests gold in four ways by rubbing, cleaving, heating, and beating, so the wise man tests religion by doctrine, practice, and the virtues of austerity and compassion. . . .'"



FIG. 10



FIG. 9

by Kālaka, the upper is Kālaka's conversion. Formulae for conversion scenes of the hero-prince are, without exception, thus: two panels on one leaf with Kālaka and a horse in a wood in one panel; in the other, the prince with hands clasped listening to a Jaina monk. In conversion scenes of other princes, the conversion itself is in all respects like that of Kālaka, except a horse is never shown. Comparisons may be made between Figure 1 and the miniatures of two manuscripts shown by Coomaraswamy,³⁴ of which the first is dated 1497, and the second, possibly before the fifteenth century.

3. *Date:*³⁵

I date the Detroit leaf in the middle of the fifteenth century, since in style it falls between the two manuscripts just named above, being neither sufficiently elaborate in ornament to date in the late fifteenth century, nor simplified enough to be earlier than the period to which I assign it. The use of scarlet as a background color further confirms this dating, and may be regarded as one of the formulae of Jaina painting in the fifteenth century. Scarlet is a background color without exception in all published examples I have seen to the end of that century. Throughout the seventeenth century, a blue background is employed.³⁶ Costume and jewelry cannot be used as criteria for dating, since the zigzag and flower motif occur as early as 1462, and both costume and jewelry remain constant throughout the following two centuries.

4. *Color:*

In the Detroit leaf gold, red, and blue dominate in color, with outlining in black or sometimes red dye (?). There is a limited use of white in the textile pattern, on accessories such as the harness of the horse, and on jewelry, so that it may be easily distinguished from the gold coloring of the body. White is also used for books, stars of the sky, and decoration of the blue field. Color plays an important part in Jaina painting—white being used invariably in such instances as noted above. Black, on the other hand, is used for outlining persons and animals, furniture and trees, and, in fact, wherever definition is required or essential. In Jewelry, black is used alone, in combination with white, and, in combination with gold, to outline auras. Red, on the other hand, of several layers thickness is used for contrast where drawing is required within black outlines. Instances can be seen in the scarf patterns of Kālaka; in sectarian marks on his forehead; in jewelry to a limited degree, as on the wristlets of Kālaka, and alongside the long necklace, appearing thereon as red cords; also in ornamentation of the throne, and of the harness (tassels and saddle cloth); and in the representation of leaves. Red often operates also as a steady color, although its use in this sense may have been quite unconscious with the Jains. In the Conversion, for instance, a red area surrounds the heads of both figures, locating them against the blue. Red surrounds the blue horse and aids in sharpening definition, since blue also is used in the sky. Gold is used as a flesh color. Whenever space is represented, either cerulean blue or flat crimson is used.

5. *Costumes:*

Kālaka wears a black lower garment, *dhoti*, with a banded zigzag pattern in gold, which leaves the ankles and feet bare. One end hangs free at his left. A scarf, *dupatta*, is bound around the waist and is indicated by a red outline on gold; the stiffened ends of the scarf

34. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff., ms. 17.2277, and pp. 58 ff., ms. 17.2279.

35. Since this paper was written, Brown has been able to assign the Detroit leaf to a Kalpa Sūtra manuscript dated equivalent to 1462, of which the Metropolitan Museum has seven leaves, Boston, two, and the Fogg Museum, one.

The evidence I give is apparently confirmed by Brown's dating more closely than I could have anticipated.

36. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff., ms. 17.2278, and pp. 60 ff., ms. 21.1673. The first of these manuscripts is one of the seventeenth century types having Rajput influence which first appeared in the preceding century.

appear, one behind the small of the back, the other, above the hands. The scarf is dotted all over with short strokes in red, possibly indicating opacity and coarseness of fabric. The ends are decorated with a wide border having a semicircular dotted pattern. It is a convention peculiar to Jaina painting that both ends of the scarf are represented. The upper part of the body is bare. The costume of Guṇākara as rendered here is the same as upon any monk of the Śvetāmbara or clad sect of Jains. Guṇākara wears a monastic robe, which is voluminous and transparent, and ornamented with a pattern of dotted circles, suggesting rosettes, in white—a color generally found on monastic robes of the Jains. The robe covers the body except that the right shoulder, like the feet, is left bare; it is twisted about the legs in small folds above the ankles. Two red "dye" bands, possibly straps, cross his left shoulder and apparently aid in fastening the robe to the body.

6. Jewelry:

Kālaka wears a high pointed diadem, not unlike a tiara, *uṣṇiṣa bhūṣana*; large circular earrings, *kundala*, hung on wires; armlets, *keyūra*; bracelets, *kaṅkana*, one of them jeweled, one a simple band; a necklace, *mālā*, composed of a long string of beads reaching to the bottom of the scarf at the waist. A red cord or thread, as noted above, lies along the inner side of the necklace.

7. Coiffures:

Kālaka has long black hair, knotted in a chignon at the back of the head. Guṇākara has black hair, which is tonsured and appears on the side of the head in a kind of mutton-chop whisker. This is characteristic of all Jain monks.

8. Auras:

An oval-shaped aura rises from Kālaka's shoulders and surrounds his head, just touching the upper point of the crown. The aura is composed of two gold bands, the outer marked with red "dye" vertical marks, the inner, with black—the lines in both cases being very short. The field within is red. Guṇākara's head appears to be surrounded with a red aura, but it differs from Kālaka's in having no confining bands.

9. Cosmetics:

A red "dye" marks Kālaka's brow, seen as two parallel vertical lines between the eyes and to be identified as *chhap*, a sectarian mark.

10. Style:

The Detroit miniature, like all miniatures of the Jaina school of painting, more properly in the Western Indian style, shows an art of draughtsmanship where contours are established by outline drawing in either red or black, and space by flat color, such as gold for body color blue or red for background. Two-thirds profile, projection of the farther eye³⁷ abnormally broad chest, and pointed nose are characteristic of all Jaina painting.³⁸

11. Panel divisions:

The essential difference of the Detroit miniature from others published is the use of a straight, paneled band with bird motif to separate the two scenes. In a Boston manuscript dated 1497,³⁹ the scenes are divided by wavy lines; in another dating in the early fifteenth century, the scenes are divided by straight lines in black and white.⁴⁰ A large fifteenth

37. Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, p. 16. This much questioned point of the projecting eye is discussed by Brown at length. He brings evidence to show that the idea undoubtedly originated in Śvetāmbara temples, where "additional glass eyes" are used "to give added brilliance—eyes which extend beyond the natural eyes of the image so that when seen from an angle the farther point protrudes into space beyond the line of the cheek . . . giving precisely

the result that appears on miniature painting." From this point it is further established by professor Brown that the origin of the Śvetāmbara miniature painting is in part from a milieu within the Śvetāmbara temples of Western India.

38. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 48; pl. 9, fo. 72.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 59; pl. 22, fo. 1.

century painting on cotton in the Boston Museum has the paneled bird motif used in one instance as a dividing band. Typical for dividing bands in miniatures are black and white and gold or yellow lines. The bird motif, so rare in this connection, appears frequently in a costume pattern for both men and women.

12. *Peculiarities:*

Apart from the unusual panel division mentioned above, minor differences between the Detroit miniature and others are costume patterns of Kālaka and Guṇākara, and differences in jewelry. In a Boston *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscript³⁹ Kālaka wears a scarf of allover dotted pattern, having a small border of repeating dot motif in a single row. As to Guṇākara's robe, there are two Boston manuscripts²⁸ which show Guṇākara's robe without a rosette pattern, but the others are like the Detroit miniature except for the direction and arrangement of dots. In manuscript 17.2279 no table appears and no *sikhara* behind the throne.⁴⁰ Further, in this example, a lotus flower, inclosed in a circle, is used to fill the empty space at the top of the picture, while in the Detroit miniature it is filled by a rectangular panel with markings. In the Detroit miniature, Kālaka has but one *chhap* mark on the forehead in the Conversion scene, and two where he leads his horse in the wood, the omission in the former case probably being an oversight on the part of the artist, as two *chhap* marks, most of them U-shaped, appear regularly in the Boston miniatures for this scene, and, in fact, upon all men. Brown was the first to note that this is a distinguishing feature between the sexes—women always have the spot, *tilaka*, on the brow.³⁵

The above survey points to at least one significant possibility respecting the costume patterns of the Sāhis and occasionally of Kālaka, namely, that their origin is Persian. Almost every one of the costume patterns—such as the grouped dots, the even cross, the zigzag, the bird enclosed in circles, and the floral groups—can be found in the miniature painting of Persia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries or in the Perso-Mongol and the somewhat later Timurid schools.

There is no literary or documentary evidence for this change in earlier Indian painting, and it has been supposed, heretofore, that the infiltration of Iranian elements in the painting of India followed the establishment of the Mughal dynasty.

It is true that certain patterns such as the goose design occur at Ajanta and are probably of remote antiquity in India. Indo-Iranian design motifs are, like the roots of the languages, cognates, and the existence of Persian parallels is to be expected and does not necessarily prove derivation. Further study is needed to clear up this problem. About the time I became interested in the possibility of early Iranian influence Brown published a *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā* undated but "executed in Gujarat in the sixteenth century," which "shows positively that Persian styles of painting were known there at that time and were practiced side by side with indigenous Early Western Indian styles."⁴¹

41. Brown, in *Ars Islamica*, Ann Arbor, 1937, IV, pp. 154-172. This is the first discussion of this interesting problem to appear in print.

THE ITALO-GALLIC SCHOOL OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

By ALEXANDER COBURN SOPER

AGENERATION ago, critical approach to the development of Early Christian art resolved itself into the simple opposition of two originating centers, Rome and the Near East. The antithesis was drawn with an attractive simplicity. For the west in general, orthodox scholarship recognized only one focus of importance, the capital, and saw in the art of the Latin provinces merely a tarnished reflection of the Roman. In contrast, the heterodox viewpoint of Strzygowski emphasized the cultural intimacy between the "Orient," north Italy, and Gaul; but only to claim the latter regions as passive recipients of an art and architecture already formulated in the Hellenistic east.¹

Within recent years, however, the primitive rivalry of "Orient oder Rom" has been complicated by the emergence of a third factor, threatening the supremacy of Rome within her own area on the one hand, and on the other claiming an importance at least partially independent of the east. An early move in the establishment of this new viewpoint was the work of Baldwin Smith in settling in Provence a critical group of late antique ivories which had been attributed variously to the east, to Milan, and to Rome.² Smith's systematization of the series granted a Roman origin to its earlier members at the close of the fourth century, but transferred the later work to a hypothetical "School of St. Victor" at Marseilles, an explanation of the shift being suggested by a migration of artists to the north after the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410. Stylistic resemblances held together in this group not only Christian ivories, but a number of pagan and official diptychs as well. The series supposedly executed in the north was related by Smith to sarcophagi of the Marseilles district in figure style, and also by the use of a unique iconography for the Massacre of the Innocents, in which the children are smashed against the ground. Other details of iconography unexpected in a Latin environment, provided at once cohesion within the Provençal group, and a significant connection with monuments either found in the east, or strongly "Asiatic" in character. This strain of eastern influence was emphasized by Smith as fundamental to his Gallic development and a source of its variation from the Latin norm dependent on Rome; his conclusions in the specific field of Christian art were set against a general background in a chapter called "The Orientalizing of Gaul."³ Entrenching his position against attacks from both major parties, Smith explained the mixture of Roman and eastern characteristics in his school as typical of the eclectic mingling of cultures in late antique Provence.

The close iconographic system established by Smith has in recent years been significantly extended by a further study of the curious element which his statistic had isolated in Provence, the "smashing" Massacre of the Innocents. A. D. McDonald, stressing the

1. Strzygowski, J., *Kleinasiens*, Leipzig, 1903.

2. Smith, E. B., *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, Princeton, 1918; hereafter noted as Smith, *Iconography. A Source of Medieval Style in*

France, in *Art Studies*, Princeton, 1924; hereafter, Smith, *Art Studies*, '24.

3. Smith, *Iconography*, p. 192.

lack of any textual excuse for this detail in the Roman, Ambrosian, and Gallican rites, has shown that it is definitely suggested in the Mozarabic ritual for the Feast of the Holy Innocents, by the rubrical phrase, "In Allisione Infantum." It is apparently alluded to as well by the Spaniard Prudentius in his *Cathemerinon Liber* with the verse,

"O barbarum spectaculum,
Illisa cervix cautibus spargit."⁴

The link thus established between monuments provisionally settled in Provence, and the neighboring region of Spain is the more valuable since it reenforces a relationship already noticed by Smith: the frequency of iconographic parallels between his group and the *Dittochaeum* of Prudentius, a poem which seems to describe the earliest elaborate concordance of Old and New Testaments in pictorial form, and is therefore an invaluable record of Christian art in Spain at the end of the fourth century.⁵

The north Mediterranean focus designated by Smith for ivory carvings of the fifth century was reiterated by Marion Lawrence some years later for a far more numerous series of sarcophagi of the later fourth.⁶ Miss Lawrence distinguished seven groups capable of representing the work of individual ateliers between 350 and 425. Five of these she located in Gaul, one in upper Italy, and one in Rome whose character was clearly eclectic and imitative. As Smith had stressed the "Oriental" influences helping to form his Provençal school, Lawrence pointed out the unmistakable connections of her sarcophagi with the Near East, both in iconography and in design. The elaborate architectural ornament characteristic of the series she showed as a direct inheritance from pagan columnar sarcophagi of the second and third centuries, settled by Morey in Asia Minor,⁷ and as paralleled later in eastern manuscripts and in the churches of Syria. The figure style, preoccupied with decorative values and gaining its effect typically by an opposition of linear rhythms, was contrasted with the typically Latin interest in bodies occupying an illusionistic space; its "Asiatic" character was established by comparison both with the academic repertory of the earlier Asia Minor sarcophagi and with later manuscripts. Lawrence explained the appearance of her series in the west at the mid-fourth century by the arrival of eastern workmen who concentrated their efforts in the north Mediterranean area. In this early period the presence of sarcophagi of the "Asiatic" style in Rome argued either a deliberate imitation by the local sculptors or actual import of the worked stone from upper Italy or Provence. The latter seemed to Lawrence most clearly shown by a number of paired columnar sarcophagi in which the Gallic twin was finished while the Roman was left partly rough seemingly to avoid damage in transport from the north. Thus emphasizing the importance of upper Italy and Gaul, Lawrence declared that "in the fourth century Rome was a back-water artistically as she was politically, and her art shows the decadence of the illusionistic style . . . or reflects the development of her more energetic province."⁸

4. McDonald, A. D., *The Iconographic Tradition of Sedulius*, in *Speculum*, 1933, pp. 150 ff. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LIX, col. 908. McDonald uses the presence of the similar words "conlisas" and "elidere" in the poems of Sedulius to argue a provenance in Spain or Gaul for that writer; pointing out further his acquaintance with the rare iconographic detail of three women at the Holy Sepulcher which appears on a Gallic sarcophagus at Servannes and on the Munich ivory of the Ascension in Smith's group, and which the latter had therefore called "Provençal."

5. Migne, *ibid.*, LX, col. 89 ff.; Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, IV, 1, col. 1191, under "Dittochaeum"; Steinmann, E., *Die Tituli und die kirchliche Wandmalerei im Abendlande*,

Leipzig, 1892, pp. 73 ff.; Baumstark, A., *Frühchristlich-Palästinische Bildkompositionen in abendländischer Spiegelung*, in *Byz. Zeit.*, XX, 1911, pp. 177 ff.; Merkle, S., in *Festschrift des Deut. Camposanto in Rom*, 1897, pp. 33 ff.

6. Lawrence, M., *City-gate Sarcophagi*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, X, pp. 1 ff. Hereafter noted as Lawrence, *City-gate. Columnar Sarcophagi of the Latin West*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, pp. 103 ff. Hereafter, Lawrence, *Columnar*.

7. Morey, C. R., *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi*, in *Sardis*, V, 1, Princeton, 1924.

8. Lawrence, *Columnar*, p. 164.



FIG. 1—*Baptism*



FIG. 2—*Wedding*



FIG. 3—*Presentation*

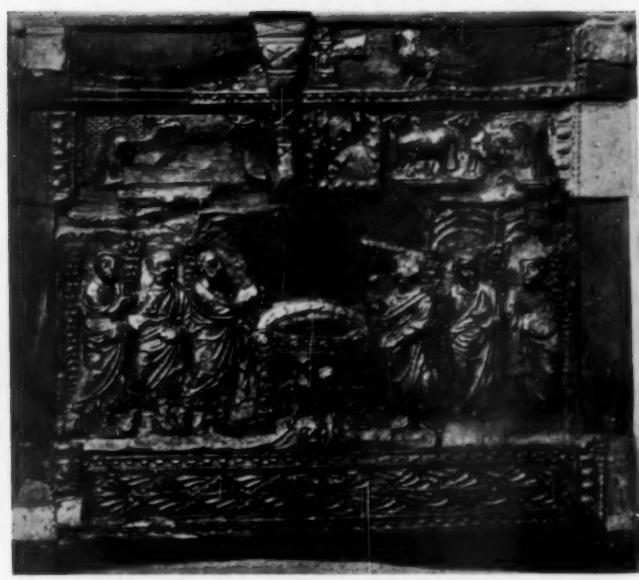


FIG. 4—*Etimasia*

Pola, Museum: Ivory Casket, Early 5th Century A.D.

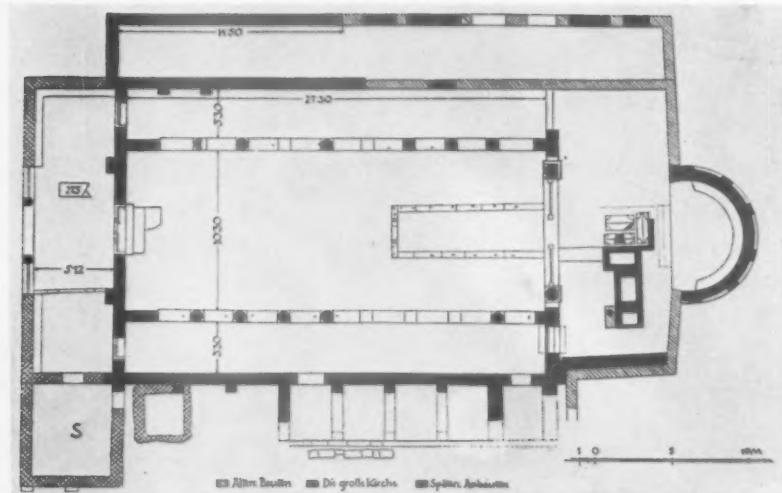


FIG. 5—Salona: Plan of 4th Century Chapel



FIG. 6—Dura, Synagogue: Detail of Fresco



FIG. 7—Detail of "Star-and-Wreath" Sarcophagus



FIG. 8—Pola, Museum: Ivory Casket, Detail



FIG. 9—London, British Museum: Ivory Casket, Detail



FIG. 10—Brescia, Museo Civico: Ivory Diptych of Lampadii, Detail

Between her two northern foci, Lawrence demonstrated a close artistic connection which in certain parallel cases amounted almost to an identity of style. This interdependence in the development of Christian art between the imperial capitals in upper Italy and the Gallic provinces was backed by a generally intimate relationship in politics, commerce, and religion, from which Rome was largely excluded.⁹

Lawrence's theory of an Asiatic inheritance behind a large proportion of the Christian sarcophagi of the west has been strikingly corroborated by two discoveries made since the publication of her articles.

The recently excavated synagogue at Dura, dating with its amazingly rich decoration of frescoed narrative at the middle of the third century, contains two scenes whose relationship to Lawrence's series is of the greatest interest.¹⁰ These illustrate side by side the futile sacrifice of the priests of Baal and the successful sacrifice of Elijah with its answer in fire from Heaven (I Kings xviii, 22-46). Both of these scenes of worship have an iconographic basis almost identical with that of the subject most characteristic of the "Asiatic" sarcophagi, the Apostles' Adoration of Christ. In the simpler Sacrifice of Baal, four priests stand on either side of the altar; in Elijah's Sacrifice, three Hebrew worshippers on the left (Fig. 6) are balanced by two registers of figures bringing water on the right. The underlying composition, by which the figures are distributed in a rhythmic procession on either side of a central object of worship, is Jewish only in the form of that object; substitution for the altar of a Christ on the Mount or a Symbolic Resurrection would make it impeccably Christian. As in the city-gate and star-and-wreath sarcophagi, the figures wear tunic and pallium, the latter draped in the unmistakable "Asiatic" formula by which the lower edge rises diagonally from right shin to left knee, and the tunic is visible beneath, at ankle length.¹¹ The Hebrews stand in the identical pose of the corresponding Apostles in the city-gate sarcophagus tradition, the right arm brought across the body in a gesture of wonder while the left hand holds a fold of the pallium at waist level (Fig. 7). It is hardly possible that this rare Jewish composition formed a direct prototype of the Christian scene of worship. The common source of both, with their qualities of symmetry and linear rhythm, must be sought in a pagan adoration formula of the Hellenized Near East.

The second discovery corroborating Lawrence's thesis is that of a Christian marble sarcophagus in Istanbul, undoubtedly of the fourth century and exhibiting a quality of workmanship hardly equaled by even the best of contemporary sculpture in the west.¹² A previous article has already pointed out the closeness of this figure style to that of the "Asiatic" sarcophagus tradition and the earliest work in Ravenna, as furnishing one more proof of the alien quality of such sculpture within the Latin world.¹³

A further iconographic detail linking the upper Mediterranean region with the east rather than with Rome has emerged from the study made by Alison Frantz in the distribution of the various forms of the *rho* monogram in Christian use.¹⁴ The hook-shaped "open rho" is marked as an eastern version because of its predominance in Istanbul and along the north shore of the Black Sea, in Syria, Crete, Egypt, and Greece; Miss Frantz found the same form in numerical superiority in the Ravenna region, at Trier, and in southern Gaul. A peculiarly Gallic treatment is the *rho* in the shape of an R. The "closed rho," on the

9. See below, pp. 153 ff.

10. Rostovtzeff, *Die Synagoge von Dura*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLII, 1934, pp. 203-218; Yale University, *Preliminary Report on the Synagogue at Dura*, 1936.

11. Soper, A., *The Latin Style in Fourth Century Christian Sarcophagi*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIX, pp. 148-202.

12. Mufit, A., *Ein Prinzensarkophag aus Istanbul*, in *Museleri Nesriyati*, X, 1934, pp. 1 ff. Soper, *op. cit.*, figs. 52-54.

13. Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 195, note 136.

14. Frantz, A., *The Provenance of the Open Rho in the Christian Monograms*, in *American Journal of Archeology*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 10 ff.

other hand, predominates in Italy, Sicily, upper Gaul, Germany, and Britain. A more or less even distribution of open and closed forms is notable in Roman Africa and along the Dalmatian coast. Miss Frantz' statistic for Spain, based on a comparatively small number of examples, showed the north linked to Rome and Italy and the south to Gaul and the east. This somewhat illogical result has been modified by the more extensive study of the Spanish *rho* made recently (and still unpublished) by Helmut Schlunk, who has found in the southern provinces of Baetica and Lusitania the same even distribution of open and closed forms which exists in the closely allied Roman Africa; in the north, while the open form is almost unknown in the interior it occurs along the Mediterranean littoral in such cities as Valencia and Tarragona, where the relationship to Gaul was most close.

Prominence has been claimed for the north Mediterranean region, finally, by two articles which have based their arguments not upon its acknowledged position in the transmission of eastern ideas to the west, but on a cultural vigor independent of alien influences. E. Weigand has supported Smith's ivory school with a reservation favoring Milan rather than Marseilles for its center.¹⁵ He has stressed the importance of the "Celto-Roman" area as noticeable even in the first century of the empire, and as greatly strengthened by the northward shift of political and economic foci in the fourth. His claim, as usual, is backed by concrete details; in architecture the peculiarly Celto-Roman method of bonding rubble masonry with courses of brick, perhaps carried to Constantinople by Gallic artisans; in the minor arts, the north Italian "factory" lamp, whose popularity eventually drove the Roman type even out of Rome itself. He noted an iconographic peculiarity of the north Italian region which entered Rome only with the late and enigmatic wood doors of Santa Sabina: the use of the Constantinian monogram in the nimbus of Christ.¹⁶ The Roman environment Weigand saw as characterized rather by a stubborn conservatism.

My discussion of fourth century Christian sarcophagi, supplementing Lawrence's work on the "Asiatic" series by a study of the rival Latin tradition, revealed a surprising degree of emphasis on the north.¹⁷ The Gallic schools, which must have begun as offshoots of the Roman, had by the mid-century become a demonstrably stronger force in sculpture. In the series of double-register frieze sarcophagi which formed the cream of the purely Latin style, the Gallic group far outstripped the Roman in originality and disregard of traditional limitations; at the same time its members showed a continuity of development in design and figure style quite lacking in the south. The stylistic renascence of the mid-century, whose most famous examples are the Junius Bassus' and Two Brothers' sarcophagi in Rome, seemed inexplicable in terms of the Roman environment alone, and the logical outcome rather of progressive tendencies in Gaul, already observable there in the double register series and in such a remarkably fine frieze sarcophagus as that at Clermont. The abrupt improvement of Christian sculpture in Rome was explained by a migration of artists from the north in the same decade which saw the parallel invasion of the metropolis by the "Asiatic" style. The independence of the Latin Revival in Gaul from the nearly contemporary Gallic and north Italian versions of the "Asiatic" ornamental traditions was emphasized as a return instead to the ideals of Roman sculpture of the Antonine period, with much of the latter's emphasis on realistic space and plasticity. A Gallic origin, finally, was attributed to several elements of iconography which appeared in the south with the stylistic revival of the mid-century: notably to the Pilate scene, which is a chief motif in

15. Weigand, E., in *Kritische Berichte*, III, 1930-1, pp. 55 ff.

16. Weigand, E., *Der Monogramnimbus auf der Thür von*

S. Sabina in Rom, in *Byz. Zeit.*, XXX, 1930, pp. 587, ff.
See below, pp. 169 ff.

17. Soper, *op. cit.* pp. 452 ff.



FIG. 11—Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe: Sarcophagus, Detail



FIG. 13—Ravenna, Orthodox Baptistery: Mosaic of Dome, Detail



FIG. 12—Brescia, Museo Civico: Ivory Diptych of Lampadii



FIG. 14—Milan, S. Ambrogio: Sarcophagus, Detail



FIG. 18—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Diptych of Felix



FIG. 17—Berlin, National Library: Diptych of Probianus

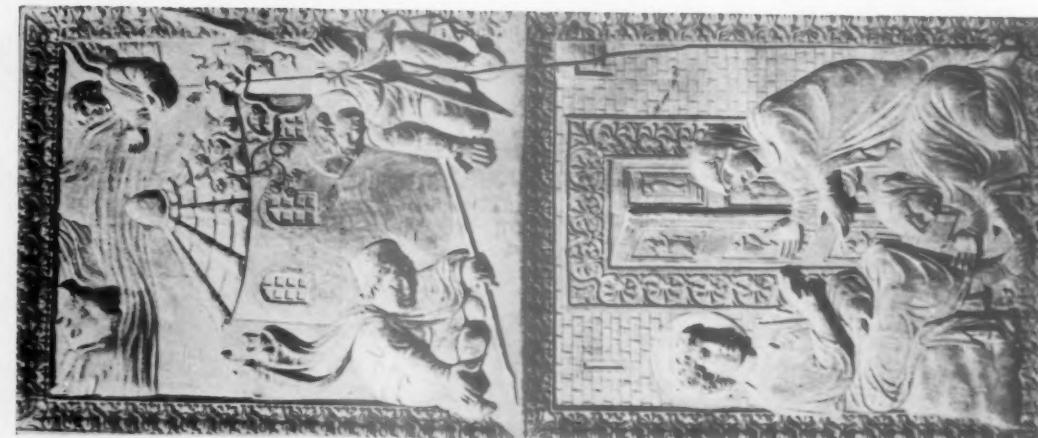


FIG. 16—Milan, Trivulzio Collection: Ivory Plaque



FIG. 15—London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Diptych of Nicomachi-Symmachi

the so-called "Passion sarcophagi," and to a peculiar version of the Raising of Lazarus, apparently dependent on a rare local tradition mentioned in a sermon formerly ascribed to St. Ambrose.^{17a}

From the sum of these various studies has emerged a new appreciation of a region whose importance to the growth of Early Christian art was no less fundamental than its position in the political and economic balance of the late empire; a region distinguished from Rome by many idiosyncrasies of style and iconography, vigorous enough in itself to quicken the stagnant Roman current by a revival within the western tradition, and at the same time increasingly open to the flood of new ideas from the east which Rome was to receive largely through its mediation.

It is the purpose of this paper at once to consolidate the foundations of the north Mediterranean "School" by filling in some of the gaps left by previous research, and at the same time to expand the boundaries of its influence. The unanimity of style of this region in Latin art of the fourth and fifth centuries will be emphasized by a demonstration that the homogeneity of style marked by Lawrence between sarcophagi of Milan and Arles is echoed by a broader stylistic and iconographic correspondence which brings Gaul into contact with Ravenna and the Dalmatian coast. I shall amplify Lawrence's assertion that the "Asiatic" sarcophagi were supplied to the Roman market by ateliers of the north, to claim as the products of northern craftsmanship or strong influence a series of other monuments executed likewise for Roman patrons after the middle of the fourth century, whose characteristics seem clearly linked to those of admittedly northern works and as clearly incompatible with the artistic tradition of Rome. Finally, it will be argued that the chief progress of Early Christian art in its early centuries, the change from a purely symbolic method to the illustration of events in narrative sequence, took place for the Latin west primarily within the north Mediterranean region, and became apparent in Rome essentially through the importation of northern works or workmen, to whose ideas the stubborn local tradition of the metropolis only gradually became accustomed.

The significance of the north Mediterranean area for one of the most important periods in the development of Christian art may be widened both geographically and in iconographic application by a consideration of a number of key monuments of the late fourth and fifth centuries: the ivory casket of Pola, the wooden doors of Santa Sabina in Rome, and the ivory casket of Brescia.

In 1906 the civic museum of Pola came into possession of the fragments of an ivory box, discovered at nearby Samagher in the ruins of the early basilica of St. Hermagoras beneath the floor of the apse.¹⁸ This casket, not available to Smith, stands in the closest formal relationship to his School of Provence, and notably extends the limits of its stylistic influence. A bearded head like that of the figure at the far left in the marriage panel (Fig. 8) is in its cruder technique almost identical with the head types of the British Museum Passion casket (Fig. 9), the Thecla casket, and the complementary plaques in the Louvre, at Nevers, and in Berlin (Figs. 21 and 22), and is foreshadowed on the diptych of Probianus around 400 (Fig. 17).¹⁹ Its closest parallels occur on the ivory diptych of the Lampadii,

17a. Soper, *ibid.*, p. 183; I am indebted to Mrs. Grace M. Hollis of the Index of Christian Art for a singular confirmation of the identification of the Kneeling Sister in the Raising of Lazarus with the Woman with the Issue. This is a stamped Egyptian textile in the Victoria and Albert Museum portraying the Raising of Lazarus with the kneeling Martha holding the hem of Christ's garment and labeled: EMAPWCA (Kendrick, *Cat. of Textiles from*

Burying-grounds in Egypt. London 1920-22, III, pl. 20).

18. Gnirs, A., *Il reliquiario d'avorio di Samagher presso Pola*, in *Atti e Memorie della Soc. Istriana di arch. e storia patria*, XXIV, 1908, pp. 19 ff.

19. Smith, *Art Studies*, '24, figs. 7-10; Mon. Piot, 1925-6, pl. 14; Smith, *ibid.*, fig. 2; Delbrueck, R., *Die Consulardiptychen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929, p. 250, no. 65.

not included by Smith in his school, but obviously a part of it, and by Delbrueck's dating typical of the style of around 425 (Figs. 10 and 12).²⁰ The Pola figures in their squat, compact proportions are wholly in keeping with Smith's "Early School of St. Victor;" a pose such as that of the father in the Presentation panel (Fig. 3) is remarkably like the left-hand orator of the Probianus recto (Fig. 17). The curious ornamental detail of a "centrifugal" egg-and-dart moulding whose dart points upward or away from the panel it encloses, is found in architectural use both on the marriage panel at Pola (Fig. 2) and on the Lampadiorum diptych (Fig. 12), and serves as a border to the Rouen apostles' diptych (Fig. 24), to the Louvre-Nevers-Berlin plaques (Figs. 21 and 22), and to the consular diptych of Felix, datable in 428 (Fig. 18).²¹ The capitals on the Probianus ivory are equally close to those at Pola on the panels of Baptism and Presentation (Figs. 1 and 3). The same fondness for indicating masonry background in detail that runs through the panels of the Pola casket is a constant feature of Smith's group from its earliest appearance on the Trivulzio panel of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 16) to the book covers in Milan (Fig. 25).²²

The Pola lid (Fig. 19), showing Peter and Paul on either side of a Christ standing on the Mount of the Four Rivers, with palms beyond and a row of lambs emerging from the two cities below, is drawn from the favorite axial composition of the sarcophagi of Lawrence's city-gate atelier, placed by her studies in north Italy. All essentials of the Pola version are present in the earliest city-gate sarcophagus, that of S. Ambrogio, Milan, around 370 (Fig. 14).²³ The much disputed apsidal mosaic of S. Costanza in Rome, if actually a work of Constantinian date and so a possible prototype for the whole later series in sculpture, is clearly further from the casket's version than are the northern sarcophagi, since it lacks Peter's cross and the lambs do not emerge from the city gates.²⁴ It should be noticed that while the cities of the four side panels at Pola follow sarcophagus precedent, with a loss of the original crenellations comparable to the late and debased version of Aix,²⁵ the form preserved on the lid shows instead a gate flanked by high round towers, not unlike the Thecla casket.²⁶

The *Etimasia* of the front panel (Fig. 4) is again allied to the "Asiatic" sarcophagus convention. In its procession of Apostles divided by trees and moving toward an object of devotion at the center, the casket is close to the city-gate fragments in the Colonna Chapel of St. Peter's, Rome,²⁷ and in the Ravenna Museum,²⁸ and is closer still to a Ravenna front in S. Apollinare in Classe (Fig. 11), where the trees are all palms.²⁹ Here, as on the lid, the ivory's direct imitation of an "Asiatic" composition involves the use of the typically "Asiatic" arrangement of the pallium, pulled up in a diagonal from one calf to above the other knee, and showing an undergarment beneath; at the same time the head type is more like that of Lawrence's sarcophagus series and less like the formula of the "Provençal" ivories.

The empty throne is almost unknown in the sarcophagus repertory, and seems to become an important illustrative feature only in the fifth century; since it appears elsewhere at that time in the mosaics of the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna (Fig. 13) in an architectural exedra (by Archbishop Neon, 449-58);³⁰ again at the apex of the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, in a medallion, flanked by Peter and Paul and above by evangelist

20. Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, p. 218, no. 56.

21. Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 18; Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, p. 93, no. 3.

22. Smith, *op. cit.*, figs. 4, 10, 12.

23. Lawrence, *City-gate*, pp. 6 ff.; *Columnar*, no. 96.

24. Wilpert, J., *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, Freiburg, 1916, III, pl. 4. Descriptions of this mosaic must be qualified by its extensive restorations. There is a

possibility that the cross existed in the original.

25. Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 108.

26. Smith, *Art Studies*, '24, fig. 8.

27. Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 100.

28. *Ibid.*, no. 101.

29. *Ibid.*, no. 89.

30. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pl. 81.



FIG. 19—*Pola, Museum: Ivory Casket, Traditio Legis*

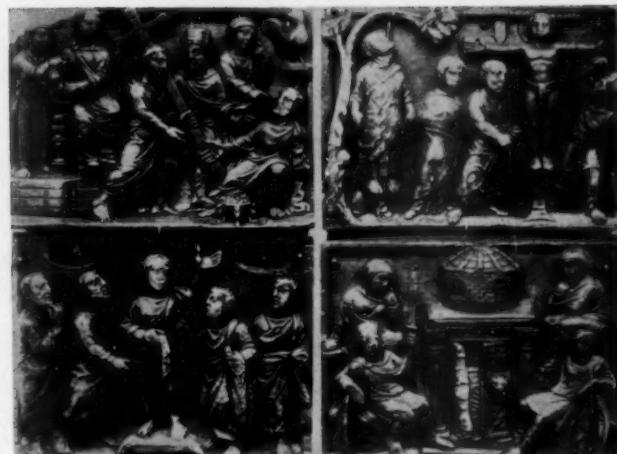


FIG. 20—*London, British Museum: Panels of an Ivory Casket*



FIG. 21—Left: *Paris, Louvre: Ivory Plaque*
Right: *Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Ivory Plaque*



FIG. 22—*Nevers, Museum: Ivory Plaque*



FIG. 23—*Venice, St. Mark's: Ciborium Column, Detail; cf. also Figs. 61-64*



FIG. 26—Raven-
na, S. Giovanni
Battista: Marble
Casket, Detail



FIG. 27—Ra-
venna, Museum:
Sarcophagus,
Detail

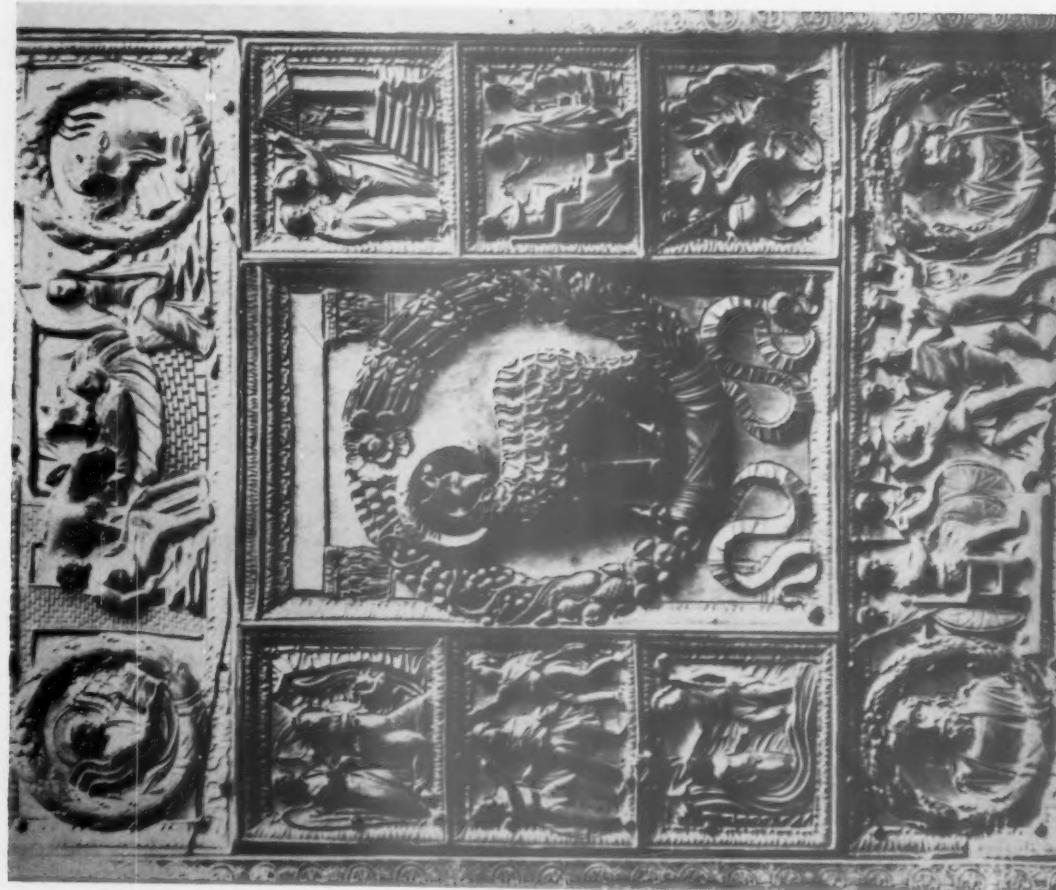


FIG. 25—Milan, Cathedral Treasury: Ivory Bookcover



FIG. 24—Rouen, Museum: Ivory Diptych, Leaf

symbols (under Sixtus III, 432-40);³¹ and in the S. Matrona Chapel of S. Prisco in Capua, flanked by the symbols of Luke and John (fifth century?).³² Closest to the Pola casket in combining the procession of Apostles between palm trees with the axial throne is the mosaic of the Arian Baptistry in Ravenna around 520.³³ The generally similar cupola of the Orthodox Baptistry in the fifth century shows a procession without the Throne, and indeed without any central element, Peter and Paul simply facing each other at the head of a group of six Apostles each. The omission is so singular that it is plausible to suppose the mosaic an unskilful adaptation of a design more competently imitated in the Arian rotunda, the earlier artist being unable to divide his circle with its rigid architectural relationships into the necessary thirteen parts. The probable prototype of both was a procession, either painted or carved, in a frieze arrangement like that of the Pola casket; this or a parallel version may well have inspired the casket itself. The whole composition being a development of the earlier "Asiatic" procession of Apostles toward Christ on the Mount, it is not surprising that the casket should retain beneath the Throne a reminiscence of the sarcophagi in which the Saviour is accompanied by a Lamb of God.³⁴

The close connection thus established between the ivory of St. Hermagoras and monuments attributed either to Provence or to north Italy should indicate for the former a provenance perhaps in Milan or Ravenna. A curious feature, however, seems to prove its local origin in the coastal region of Istria and Dalmatia. The wedding ceremony takes place before an altar located in advance of the normal chancel area, under a sort of baldaquin supported by four columns and set apart from the nave by a low parapet (Fig. 2). Such a position for the altar seems to have been peculiar to the early churches of the east Adriatic coast.³⁵ Its simplest version there is its earliest, in the southern of the two early fourth century basilicas in Aquileia; the chancel line is clearly marked by the mosaic pattern, while in front of it, in the first bay of the nave, the mosaics show four small areas of damage caused by the legs of the altar.³⁶ Closest to the arrangement of the Pola casket is that of a small grave chapel in the fourth century complex at Salona, where the four pillars projecting forward from the apse suggested to Egger a direct parallel to the baldaquin of the ivory (Fig. 5).³⁷

The fixing within the Istrian and Dalmatian littoral by the use of a local architectural peculiarity, of an ivory so closely related in style to Smith's group, may serve as a starting point for redetermination of the latter's provenance. The narrow iconographic limits described by Smith about his "Provençal" series have been widely expanded to the southwest by the discovery that the smashing Massacre of the Innocents was an idea known in Spain. To an equal extent, the Pola casket radically loosens his narrow limits of style to the east. Hardly less effective than the Pola ivory as an argument against the "School of St. Victor,"

31. *Ibid.*, pl. 72.

32. *Ibid.*, pl. 77.

33. *Ibid.*, pl. 101.

34. Arnason, H., *Early Christian Silver of North Italy and Gaul* in this issue of THE ART BULLETIN; pp. 193 ff. By a study of Lamb and Dove "Adoration" schemes similar to those on the casket, Arnason reenforces the evidence for provenance that is presented here.

35. *La Basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna, 1933; see C. Cecchelli, *Gli edifici e i mosaici paleocristiani nella zona della Basilica*, pp. 107 ff. Cecchelli notes the frequency of a similar layout in early African basilicas, most clearly shown in the *Ecclesia* mosaic of Thabarca; and its apparently unique appearance in Rome in S. Maria in Trastevere, which he is inclined to explain by foreign influence.

36. Cecchelli, *op. cit.*, pl. 39. The fifth century basilica

of Aquileia elaborates this idea by a special raised platform for the altar, with a raised path approaching it from the nave; a similar approach, between low parapet walls, is attested by the ruins of the fifth or sixth century church in the Piazza della Corte at Grado, one parapet showing the remains of two pillar embedments (Swoboda, in *Jhrheft. des O.A.I.*, 1906, *Beiblatt*). Raised areas projecting into the nave appear in the remains of the church of S. Michele di Bagnola (Gerber, *Altchristliche Kultbauten Istriens*, etc., Dresden, 1912, pp. 73 ff., figs. 83-4); of the pre-Euphrasian basilica at Parenzo (*ibid.*, pp. 37 ff., fig. 40); and of the fifth century church at Salona (Egger, R., *Forschungen in Salona*, Vienna, 1926, II, p. 24, figs. 13, 20-1); the first and third of these showing parapet walls clearly.

37. Egger, *op. cit.*, fig. 13. *Atti del III Congresso Int. di Arch. Crist.*, p. 240.

is a recently published sculpture in Ravenna (Fig. 26).³⁸ This relief of the Traditio Legis forms one side of a marble capsella which had been walled up in the masonry of S. Giovanni Battista; for the present purpose, its stylistic importance lies in the fact that the Paul there represented closely resembles the same apostle on Smith's Rouen diptych (Fig. 24), even to the detail, rare in such sculpture, of the pallium fold hanging down the back. Smith had used the similarity of the Rouen figure to the Paul of a sarcophagus in Marseilles from St. Victor to help link his ivories to Provence.³⁹ The Ravenna marble, and such similar figures as the Paul of a Ravenna Museum sarcophagus (Fig. 27),⁴⁰ or the Virgin of the Pignatta sarcophagus,⁴¹ show rather that the connection of the Rouen apostle is with a figure style of the general north Mediterranean area.⁴²

A further stylistic peculiarity, which seems to link the "Provençal" school no less firmly to upper Italy, is its handling of the ovolo moulding so that the eggs and darts point upward or away from the panel they enclose. I have cited this peculiarity as a tie between the school ivories and the Pola casket, in architectural use on the Pola marriage panel and the Lampadiorum diptych, and as a panel border appearing on the diptych of Asklepios-Hygeia, on the Felix, "Severus," and Rome-Constantinople consular diptychs,⁴³ on the Rouen apostles diptych, on the Berlin-Paris-Nevers plaques, and even on the Merovingian buckle of St. Césaire.⁴⁴ The most striking parallel to the unanimity with which the ivories handle this detail is its presence throughout the mid fifth century Orthodox Baptistry at Ravenna. There it occurs on the large moulding which runs around the triforium, on the window mouldings, and decorates each of the small stucco exedras (which in more clumsy foreshortening seem to echo the architecture of the Lampadiorum and Pola ivories). In addition, it surrounds the Baptism of the cupola as a band in mosaic, still pointing outward (Fig. 28).⁴⁵ Further evidence of this "centrifugal" egg-and-dart in Ravenna shows it in the highest possible favor: two gold medallions of Honorius and Galla Placidia, dated by Delbrueck around 420-425, are set in identical brooches whose decoration in three concentric rings uses an ornament which seems a corruption of the egg-and-dart with some similar leaf motif, and which again points outward (Fig. 29). Later in Ravenna the detail reappears on the lid of an arcaded sarcophagus in S. Apollinare in Classe, where careless execution has omitted all but a few of the darts, and on a pulpit of S. Apollinare Nuovo.⁴⁶

In the light of this further evidence, the stylistic continuity which is visible throughout the whole series of Latin ivories seems to reflect a common dependence on one sculptural tradition rather than the work of any single locality. The source of this tradition Baldwin Smith set in Rome, at the end of the fourth century, for the obvious reason that one of its earliest examples is the diptych of a Vicar of Rome, Probianus (Fig. 17), and that the two

38. In *Felix Ravenna*, 1930, II, pl. 4.

39. Smith, *Iconography*, pp. 231 ff., fig. 161; *Art Studies*, '24, p. 101. LeBlant, E., *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, Paris, 1886, p. 47, pl. 11/1.

40. Garrucci, R., *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, Prato 1873-1881, V, pl. 332/3.

41. *Ibid.*, pl. 344/2.

42. Arnason, *op. cit.*, adds evidence for the extension of Smith's provenance.

43. Asklepios; Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 55; Felix, *ibid.*, no. 3; Severus, *ibid.*, no. 39; Rome-Constant., *ibid.*, no. 38.

44. Smith, *Art Studies*, '24, fig. 14.

45. Colasanti, A., *L'arte bizantina in Italia*, Milan, 1912, pl. 2. Berchem, M. van, and Clouzot, E., *Mosaïques chrétiennes*, Geneva, 1924, fig. 112. Use of the egg-and-dart in mosaic is very rare. Examination of several hundred ex-

amples in Italy, Dalmatia, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, has revealed its scarcity. It is used in the Orthodox Baptistry at Ravenna; in the early fourth century basilica at Aquileia, pointing in; at Trier, pointing out (Blanchet, *Mosaïques de la Gaule*, etc. no. 1241); and at Rome in the Lateran Baptistry, chapel of Ss. Rufinus and Secundus (van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, p. 9, fig. 12). In this last example, the detail suggests a link with Ravenna which is reiterated by the acanthus below; similar acanthus scrolls in mosaic appear in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (*ibid.*, fig. 108), in the Orthodox Baptistry (*ibid.*, fig. 113), and at S. Vitale (*ibid.*, fig. 186).

46. Medals: Delbrueck, R., *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, pls. 19/5, 25/4. Sculptures: Dutschke, H., *Ravennatische Studien*, Leipzig, 1909, fig. 34/a-d. Colasanti. *L'arte bizantina*, pl. 69.

plaques of the Nicomachi and Symmachi record the union of great senatorial families of the metropolis (Fig. 15).⁴⁷ From this beginning, Smith found some embarrassment in the problem of reconciling the subsequent northern affiliations of his school with its continued production of diptychs for the consuls of Rome. Having assumed that an originally Roman atelier migrated to Provence after the Gothic sack of Rome, and there became affected by the peculiar style and iconography of Gaul, he could explain the Felix consular diptych of 428 only as produced in the north or as the work of a Provençal craftsman who had returned to Rome (Fig. 18). Smith's difficulty is aggravated by the Lampadiorum plaque, not included in his series but obviously a part of it, executed for a senatorial family around 425 in the full tide of the "School of St. Victor" (Fig. 12).⁴⁸

A redetermination of the provenance of those Christian ivories which are most closely linked in style to the Pola casket and to the fifth century in Ravenna, must involve the same problem of their tradition's source. The dilemma resolves itself into a simple opposition. On the one hand the balance holds these factors: the stylistic homogeneity of the series; its iconographic connections with the north; its resemblances to a casket executed on the east Adriatic coast and to Ravennate sculpture; its continuation, both in subject matter and style, in the Merovingian buckle of St. Césaire at Arles, and in Carolingian monuments. The other arm of the balance holds the single facts that the diptychs of Probianus around 400, of Felix in 428, and of Boethius in 487 were executed for officials of Rome, and those of the Nicomachi, Symmachi, and Lampadii for high senatorial families.

With Haseloff it is axiomatic that the diptych of a Roman consul must *per se* have been produced at Rome and within a Roman stylistic current.⁴⁹ From the point of view summarized in this article, the fact is less certain.

In 359 the prefect Junius Bassus was buried at Rome in the most magnificent of all Early Christian sarcophagi. Lawrence has shown to what an extent this work, executed for the highest Roman patronage, reflects the alien ideals and methods of the "Asiatic" columnar style; my studies of the Latin tradition itself have indicated other elements of basic importance which must be derived from the Latin ateliers of Gaul. The double-register scheme of the sarcophagus and much of its iconography is local in origin; the rest, provided for a Roman prefect, is Roman in that fact and in nothing more.⁵⁰

Such evidence as that presented by the sepulcher of Junius Bassus is the more precious because of the extreme rarity of sarcophagi which can be connected with persons known to history. The next of these in Rome comes a full generation later, around 390; it is a trough which the combined weight of tradition and circumstantial evidence assigns to Sextus Petronius Probus, four times *Praefectus Praetorio* and colleague of Gratian in the consulship of 371. This man, in his day the most important and influential of Christian laymen in Rome, was buried in a sarcophagus which epitomizes the "Asiatic" tradition of the city-gate atelier, carved on all four sides in eastern fashion, and Roman only in the composition of the rear.⁵¹ The commission may have been executed in Rome by sculptors dependent on a parent atelier in Milan; to Lawrence the unfinished rear suggests an actual importation from the north. By the last decade of the century, the Roman atelier most successful in combining local traditions with the new fashion, that of Junius Bassus, had ceased to turn out sarcophagi distinguishable in any way from the general run of Latin imitations of

47. Smith, *Art Studies*, '24, p. 102. Probianus: Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 65; Nicomachorum, *ibid.*, no. 54.

48. *Ibid.*, no. 56.

49. Haseloff, A., *Pre-Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, Florence, 1930, pp. 15 ff.

50. Lawrence, *Columnar*, pp. 128 ff.; Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 ff.

51. Lawrence, *Columnar*, pp. 142 ff., note 95.

columnar style. As against the uninspired mediocrity of such works, the "Asiatic" sculptors provided the rich Roman market with the widest repertory of exotic forms, city-gate, Red Sea, Bethesda, star-and-wreath, and every kind of columnar type. In ordering such a sepulcher as that of Sextus Petronius Probus for its most distinguished member, the Anician house merely reflected the taste of an aristocracy completely converted to the alien sarcophagus ideal.

The significant proportion of Greek names in earlier centuries among the artists who can be identified as working for Roman patronage, continues into the fourth century. The abrupt improvement which I noted in the sculptural style of Rome at the mid fourth century, and which seems explicable only as the work of artists migrating from Gaul, is paralleled in the inscriptions of Pope Damasus placed in the catacombs and churches of the city to commemorate the martyrs. The relatively high quality of this lettering as contrasted with the previous decadence of monumental inscriptions in Italy, noted in every manual of epigraphy, which had progressively deepened since the third century, may plausibly be explained by the signature preserved on one inscription, that of Furius Dionysius Filocalus. This same artist with a Greek name signed the title page of the Chronograph of 354, a manuscript whose architectural settings on every page pay tribute to the "Asiatic" forms and rich ornament of columnar sarcophagi, and are linked as well to other architectural decoration of the north and east.⁵² The subject matter of the Chronograph is Roman, and such a detail of figure style as the cape worn by the December shepherd may be a Latin peculiarity; in the same way the Roman sarcophagus ateliers of the later fourth century set their traditional scenes within an architectural framework copied as closely as possible from the rival "Asiatic" repertory.

Behind the various medieval illustrated manuscripts of Terence, the researches of Jones and Morey have indicated a lost Latin original of the late antique period. Of the hypothetical direct descendants of this lost manuscript, one "γ²," may be confidently reconstructed on the basis of its later copies as a work in the full "Asiatic" tradition of the fifth century, and thus may serve as a further proof of the invasion of that ideal into the Latin world (Fig. 33).⁵³

52. Strzygowski, J., *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354*, in *Jhb. des D.A.I.*, Erg.-heft., I, 1888. Unlike Lawrence's Christian sarcophagus series, the Chronograph harks back to the Asia Minor prototype in using a Corinthian capital with four volutes in place of the usual composite form. In its general period, this feature is paralleled outside of actual architecture on north Mediterranean and eastern monuments: the early sarcophagi of Ravenna (Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pls. 332/3-4, 344/1-3, 348/2-5); perhaps on the Brescia ivory casket in almost unrecognizable form (Kollwitz, J., *Die Lipsanothek von Brescia*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, pl. 2; see below pp. 173 ff. and notes 94 ff.); on the cupola mosaics of St. George at Saloniki (Diehl, Le Tourneau, Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique*, Paris, 1918, pl. 1); and on the decennial Missorium of Theodosius I, dated by Delbrueck in 388 and assigned by him because of its Greek inscription and the historical circumstances of its issue to the same city of Thessalonika, or to Constantinople (*Consulardiptychen*, pp. 235 ff., no. 62). Later the four volutes are retained in the Theodora mosaic of S. Vitale (van Berchem, *Mosaïques chrétiennes*, fig. 198), in the Cyprus silver treasure (in *Burlington Magazine*, X, 1907, pp. 355ff., pls. 1, 2), and on an ambo from the region of Tralles in the Ottoman Museum (Mendel, *Cat. des Sculptures, Musée Imperial Ottoman, Constantinople*, 1914, II, no. 645 (1223) p. 409).

The Saloniki mosaics of St. George, again, with their fan-

tastic combination of richly ornamented architectural motives, furnish a close resemblance to the settings of the Chronograph, even in the use of the so-called "western" conch which radiates downward (Figs. 31 and 32). The crockets which persistently decorate the outlines of gables and arches in the manuscript are as frequent in the mosaic, and they are identical to the motif used on the Missorium of Theodosius. A later cousin both of the Chronograph and of Saloniki is a mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, where closely similar exedras are enriched by a crocketed outline (Fig. 34; van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, figs. 207 and 208).

The use made by Filocalus or a collaborator on the Chronograph of bust medallions to fill the spandrels of the aediculae, suggests further parallels to the north and east: around the drum of the Holy Sepulcher on the Munich ivory of Smith's school (Fig. 37); on the sixth century diptychs of the eastern Consuls Anthemius and Anastasius (Fig. 38; Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 17-21); in a mosaic of St. Demetrios in Saloniki (Fig. 35; Diehl etc., pl. 31/1); and again as part of an all-over pattern on the tunic of Stilicho in his diptych, according to Delbrueck probably executed by a court workshop in Milan (*Consulardiptychen*, no. 63, p. 248).

53. Jones, L. W. and Morey, C. R., *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, Princeton, 1932. The careful figure style of the ninth century Vatican Terence owes to



FIG. 28—Ravenna, Orthodox
Baptistery: Mosaic



FIG. 29—Medal of Honorius



FIG. 30—Rome, S.
Maria Maggiore:
Arch Mosaic,
Detail



FIG. 31—Rome, Vatican Library:
Chronograph of 354, Calendar

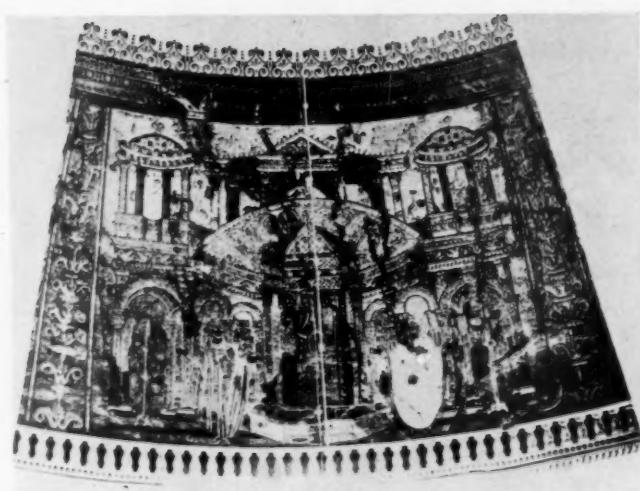


FIG. 32—Salonica, St. George: Dome
Mosaic, Detail



FIG. 33—Rome, Vatican Library:
Miniature of Ms. of Terence



FIG. 34—Ravenna, S. Apollinare in
Classe: Mosaic



FIG. 35—Salonica, St. Demetrios: Mosaic



FIG. 36—Ravenna, S. Francesco: Pignatta Sarcophagus, Detail



FIG. 37—Munich, National Museum: Ivory Plaque



FIG. 38—London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Diptych of Anastasius



FIG. 39—Ravenna, S. Vitale: Sarcophagus, End

The various factors cited above demonstrate the predominance at Rome of artists working in the styles of the north and east after the middle of the fourth century. The argument need not end with their evidence. We shall show at some length in subsequent pages that the Roman church of S. Sabina exhibits such strong connections with the north in what is left of its original decoration as to suggest the dominance therein of artists from Milan or Ravenna. The intervention of northern resources into the church building of the same period is attested earlier by the inscriptions of S. Paolo fuori le mura crediting its erection to Honorius, Theodosius, and Galla Placidia,⁵⁴ and later by the text of the *Liber Pontificalis* naming Valentinian III as the donor of the basilica of San Lorenzo and of costly sculptural furnishings elsewhere. After the era of Constantine, the *Liber* includes only two works of figure sculpture as worthy of mention, both under Sixtus III (432-40). One of these, a silver statue of the martyr Lawrence, was apparently given by the pope himself; the other, a donation of Valentinian III, was "imaginem auream cum xii portas et apostolos xii et Salvatorem gemmis pretiosissimis ornatam, quam . . . super confessionem beati Petri apostoli posuit."⁵⁵ No stretch of imagination is needed to see this work presented to Rome by a Ravennate emperor as executed in the traditional formulae of the "Asiatic" city-gate sarcophagi.

Our present controversy centers, as noted above, about the diptychs of Probianus, Felix, and Boethius, executed for officials of Rome and yet inseparably linked in style to a school whose other affiliations are all with the north. It will be instructive, now, to notice briefly the other official ivories of the Latin west, produced in general for consuls who were "Roman" at least in office, and in several cases belonged by birth to the metropolitan aristocracy.

The diptych of Probus in 406 was issued by a member of the great Anician house whose most noted representative, Sextus Petronius Probus, had been buried in the almost purely "Asiatic" sarcophagus. The ivory of Anicius Petronius Probus⁵⁶ is in style only slightly removed from the full current of the "School of Provence," and shows along its gable a simplified form of the crocketing already noticed in Saloniki and Ravenna, and in the half "Asiatic" Chronograph (Figs. 31-34). The diptych presents two portraits of the emperor Honorius; Delbrueck supposes from the wording of its inscription that its donor already held at the time of his elevation to the consulship a court office in the immediate entourage of the emperor, whose capital had just been moved from Milan to Ravenna.

The ivory probably to be assigned to Stilicho is placed by Delbrueck in Milan, from the circumstances of its issue.⁵⁷ The Trier plaque of Constantius III around 417 he attributes to a Gallic provenance and "Alexandrian" workmanship, along with the Bourges diptych

this "Asiatic" ancestry its similarity to the figures of the Vienna Genesis, the Codex Rossanensis, and the Codex Sinopensis. In contrast stands a second and earlier archetype, γ¹, with a greater measure of decadent Latinity, which was responsible for the Ambrosian Terence F. In the frontispiece to the play *Heautontimorumenos* a comparison between these two divergent traditions is possible. The Ambrosian Terence places its masks inside a simple gabled cabinet which from its functional directness may well have been present in the original Latin illustration. The Paris and Vatican versions, P and C, on the other hand, reproduce the decorative variation introduced by the "Asiatic" artist in γ², changing the cabinet to a more elaborate aedicula with an arched and crocketed top like those of the Chronograph, the mosaics of St. George in Saloniki and of S. Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna (Figs. 31-34). Here again the columns are divided by horizontal banding into

three parts; a feature of the Saloniki mosaic, of the Empress diptychs attributed by Delbrueck to Constantinople around 500 (*Consulardiptychen*, no. 52, pp. 205 ff.) and of the Monza "Poet and Muse" plaque, recently placed by Weitzmann and Schultz in Milan at the end of the 4th century (in *Jhb. des D.A.I.*, XXXIX, 1934, 1/2, pp. 128 ff.).

54. Van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, p. 89.

55. *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), I, p. 233. In the similar sculpture presented by Constantine to the Lateran some forty years before the earliest city-gate sarcophagus (by Lawrence's dating), the *Liber* makes no mention of the crucial "portas." Cf. p. 172: "Habet in fratre Salvatorem in sella . . . et xii apostolos . . . cum coronas argento purissimo; item a tergo respiciens in absidem, Salvatorem sedentem in throno . . . et angelos iii . . . tenentes astas . . ."

56. Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, p. 84, no. 1.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 247 f., no. 63.

with *venatio* scenes around 435.⁵⁸ The Asturius plaques of 449 were apparently issued in Arles where the consulship was announced.⁵⁹ An Alexandrian influence, cited as a product of the efforts made by Leo I and his colleague Anthemius to reestablish Rome on traditional bases after the catastrophic Vandal raid of 455, is used by Delbrueck to account for the style of two diptychs probably of the years 469-70.⁶⁰ The diptych closest to our Boethius in time, that of Basilius, in 480, has been shown by Capps to represent an impressionistic technique completely foreign to Roman tradition, and probably allied to the ivory style of Alexandria.⁶¹ Last of all, the Orestes diptych, of 530, although still executed for a member of the Roman senatorial aristocracy, is completely Constantinopolitan in type.⁶²

We have approached from two directions the argument that a Roman consul would use a diptych executed by Roman sculptors, first in showing that so far as the existing evidence goes, the cream of the Roman market in other fields was usurped by artists representing an alien tradition, and patronized because of the decadence of artistic production in Rome itself; and second, from the fact that the three official diptychs whose Roman source is here in dispute are matched by nine others which were either produced outside of Rome itself or seem to reflect the strongest outside influences in their style. The theory, then, that Roman patronage involves an origin bound up in Roman tradition, may be confidently set aside in so far as it affects the source of the "School of Provence." At the end of the fourth century, when the metropolitan market was flooded with "Asiatic" sarcophagi and when Honorius from his northern capitals was "perfecting" the church of S. Paolo begun by his father, there is no difficulty in supposing an atelier formed in Milan as executing ivories of the highest quality for Roman patrons, either by export or through a branch workshop in the south.

Works like the Trivulzio plaque with the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 16), and the two pagan diptychs of Symmachi-Nicomachi (Fig. 15) and Asklepios-Hygeia, are a surprising phenomenon around 400 A.D., under any circumstances. If their appearance can be partially explained by any other sculpture of the time, however, the closest parallel to the ivory "renascence" lies not in the half-medieval mannerisms of the "Asiatic" current, or in its drab imitation by Latin ateliers, but in a Ravenna sarcophagus like that of the Pignatta in S. Francesco (Fig. 36).⁶³ In these reliefs, executed in a medium allowing less delicacy of detail than ivory, and perhaps somewhat later than the best period of Smith's series, there appears much of the almost classically Greek refinement and reticence of the Trivulzio plaque and the diptych of the Symmachi-Nicomachi union. The plump softness of the Trivulzio soldiers is recalled again by the Daniel of S. Vitale (Fig. 39).

From the iconographic point of view, a study later in this article of the illustrations of the Passion cycle will show that the Trivulzio plaque with its scene at the Holy Sepulcher could be present in Rome only as an isolated example, while in the north it takes logical place in a long Passion development. Baldwin Smith has suggested a remarkable position for this ivory as the source, through misunderstanding, of a whole series of two-storied Holy Sepulchers continuing into the late Carolingian period.⁶⁴ Here again the continuity

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 156 ff., nos. 36 and 37.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 95, no. 4.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 30 f., pp. 165 ff., nos. 39 and 40.

61. Capps, E., Jr., *The Style of the Consular Diptychs*, in

THE ART BULLETIN, X, pp. 61 ff.

62. Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, p. 148, no. 32.

63. Dutschke, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff., figs. 25/a-d.

64. The controversy as to the priority of the Trivulzio and Munich versions of the Holy Sepulcher scene has perhaps not yet been settled even by Smith's lengthy analysis

in *Art Studies*, '24, pp. 90 ff. If the Munich version is earlier, however, the supposedly "Roman" Trivulzio plaque becomes dependent upon an iconography tied to the "School of Provence." At least two later ivories seem to derive directly from the Trivulzio rather than from the Munich plaque; these are the British Museum "Passion casket" (Fig. 20), and the Milan Cathedral Passion diptych, both works associated with the north (*Art Studies*, '24, figs. 7 and 20).

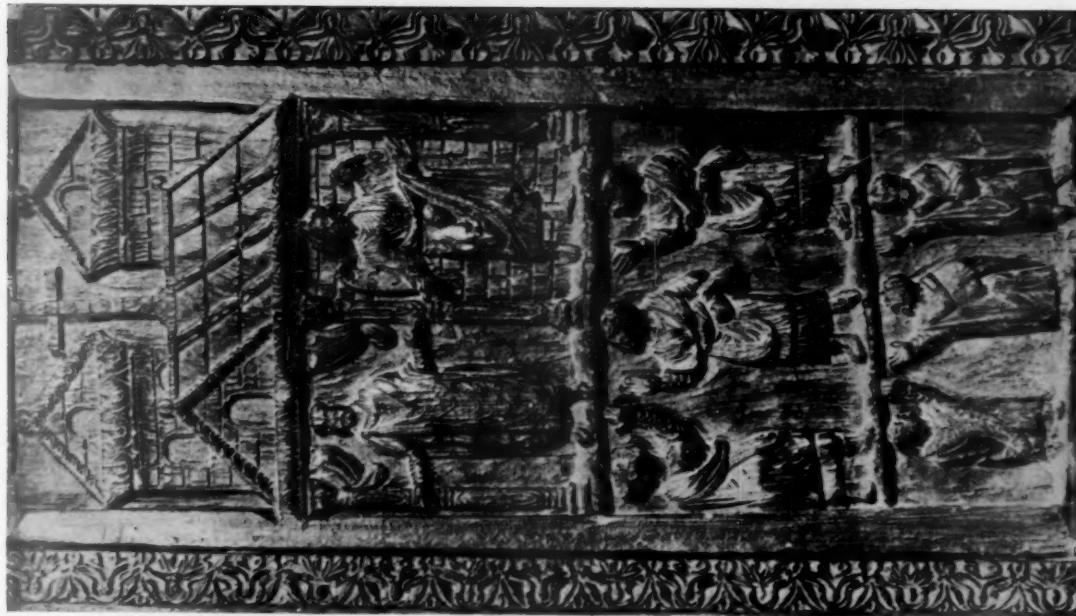


FIG. 41—*Appearance to the Disciples*



FIG. 42—*Adoration of the Magi*
Rome, S. Sabina: Wood Doors



FIG. 40—*Ascension*



FIG. 43—*Church*



FIG. 44—Syracuse, Museum: Sarcophagus of Adelfia, Relief on Lid



FIG. 45—Sarcophagus from Old St. Peter's, Rome, Detail



FIG. 46—Rome, S. Sabina: Arch Mosaic, Detail



FIG. 47—Ravenna, Archbishop's Palace: Mosaic Bust



FIG. 48—Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia: Mosaic, Detail

of the development is furthered by a northern source for this ivory whose later effect seems to have been wholly on monuments associated with upper Italy and Gaul.

A second iconographic detail seems to tie the Trivulzio plaque to a distinctly northern practice. Illustrating the scene of the two Marys at the Sepulcher, it places two symbols in the sky above, the angel and the ox. These cannot serve as the two Evangelists who tell the story, below, since the version illustrated is that of Matthew and Mark, and while Matthew is normally symbolized by the angel, we know of no system linking Mark to the ox. Some other reason for the grouping must be supposed, with the two other symbols appearing upon a lost companion plaque. The same association of angel and ox is later repeated on the front of the Milan book covers, with lion and eagle on the rear (Fig. 25).⁶⁵ It can hardly be doubted that some tradition lies behind this arrangement, the more important because of its lack of orthodoxy. What may be called the standard order of Beast symbols follows Ezekiel's vision in the sequence: angel, lion on the right side; ox, eagle on the left; and was adjusted by Jerome to the orthodox order of Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. This arrangement appears around 400 at Rome on the apse of S. Pudenziana.⁶⁶ The "Provençal" ivories clearly stand apart from this system, since nothing less than a complete regrouping can transform the standard order into a pairing of angel-ox and lion-eagle. The most direct parallels for the usage of the Trivulzio and Milan ivories appear on two monuments which reproduce to some extent the peculiar front-and-back-panel problem of a book cover. One of these is a pair of sculptured capitals in the Archbishop's Palace at Ravenna, inscribed *Petrus Episc.* and attributed by Garrucci to the third archbishop of that name, 494-519.⁶⁷ Here ox and angel are placed on one capital, lion and eagle on the other. The second parallel is the *Cattedra di S. Marco* in Venice; here lion and eagle are placed on the back of the throne, while the angel and ox appear on the left and right sides.⁶⁸ In the different problem of surrounding an object at the center, the order angel, ox, lion, eagle, appears in clockwise direction around two Ravenna vaults, those of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia and the Archbishop's Palace, and around a catacomb fresco of Naples (where the Christ, bearded and with a cruciform nimbus which is jeweled and splayed out at the ends, is a sixth century Ravennate type unfamiliar in Rome). The same sequence runs counter-clockwise around the Christ of an Ascension panel on the doors of S. Sabina in Rome (Fig. 40), a monument whose many close connections with the art and iconography of the north Mediterranean area will be demonstrated below.⁶⁹

65. Smith, *Iconography*, figs. 155 and 156.

66. Van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, fig. 66.

67. Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 408/1-2.

68. *Ibid.*, pl. 413.

69. Ravenna: Van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, figs. 104, 134. Naples: Garrucci, *Storia*, II, pl. 105. The varying distribution of the four Beasts generally in attendance on Christ or His symbol is a problem of great complexity. The only simple solution is that in which the Beasts are understood directly in terms of the Vision of Ezekiel. Their sequence and placing here follows the text (*Ezekiel*, i, 10):

"they four had the face of a man and the face of a lion on the right side, and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four had also the face of an eagle."

In Christian theology this revelation under the Old Law prefigures the Ascension of Christ. The typical Ascension scheme in early eastern iconography, seen in the Coptic frescoes of Bawit and Saqqara, in the apse mosaic of Hosios David at Saloniki, and in the Rabula Gospels, is thus the Christ within a great mandorla, attended by angel, lion,

ox, and eagle, in the order given. The Beasts in this case are symbols of divine power, and have no connection with the four Evangelists.

The second mention of the Four Beasts in Holy Writ is that of John in the Apocalypse (Revelation, iv, 6-7):

"round about the throne were four beasts full of eyes before and behind; and the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast was like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle."

Here the placing is less emphasized by the text, and for that reason was less scrupulously observed. As favorite a subject of western art as the Beasts of Ezekiel were of eastern, the Apocalyptic four were linked early in their history to the four Evangelists; a relationship long confused by varying schemes of identification. Representations of the Beasts in the first centuries of Christian art in the west might vary then as the system of parallels adhered to was that of Ireneus, Hippolytus, or Jerome; and might follow an order designed perhaps to symbolize the (varying) sequence of

One final detail of iconography furnishes a simpler connection between the Trivulzio ivory and north Mediterranean practice. The door panels of the Sepulcher illustrate three episodes from the life of Christ (Fig. 16). Of these, the top pair, showing the Resurrection of Lazarus, is set in a mould derived ultimately perhaps from Rome but by the end of the fourth century common property throughout the Latin west. The second scene shows Christ standing beside a tree in which is perched the small figure of Zacchaeus. Smith's notes characterize this episode as "western."⁷⁰ The qualification may be drawn more precisely; this scene, as distinct from the Zacchaeus and tree which are simply elements accompanying Christ's entry into Jerusalem, is a feature peculiar to the "western" art of the upper Mediterranean area, and serves to draw the Trivulzio ivory the more closely to the north.

In summary, the present criticism of Smith's ivory series indicates that its later members, placed by him in the Marseilles region, must be regarded rather as work typical of the general north Mediterranean area extending as far west as Spain and as far east as Dalmatia; its earlier, which Smith and his predecessors had set almost unanimously in Rome, must be no less northern in inspiration, and by the stylistic and iconographic arguments outlined above may be ascribed to the court workshops of Milan or Ravenna.

* * *

A second monument of major importance for the relationship between Rome and the north in the development of Christian art, is the pair of wooden doors executed for the church of S. Sabina in Rome. The dating of these may confidently follow that of the erection of the church itself; a process begun under Pope Celestine (422-32) from the evidence of a dedicatory inscription, and finished under Sixtus III (432-40) from that of the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁷¹ The problem of provenance has long been tossed between the two horns of Rome and the Orient;⁷² in recent years, however, the conviction has grown that the doors represent neither of these antithetical traditions in its purity, but rather a mixture of the two characteristic of the north Mediterranean, and closely related to other monuments of that region both in style and in iconography.⁷³

the four Gospels, or perhaps the degrees of honor due the four writers as witnesses of the first or second generation. Even with a stable system of identification, and a fixed order—the orthodox sequence established by Jerome of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and angel, lion, ox, and eagle,—the actual representation had to cope with a final confusion in placing the symbols: one scheme was logical when they surrounded a mandorla on a flat wall, a second when they stood in line along a triumphal arch, a third when they filled the four severies of a vault, or four opposing lunettes, a fourth when they decorated the front and back panels of a book cover. In view of all these factors and the consequent failure of a strong orthodox iconography to establish itself until comparatively late, it is the more interesting to find the only approach to unanimity in Beast arrangements of the Early Christian period illustrated by monuments associated with upper Italy and Gaul.

70. Smith, *Art Studies*, '24, p. 109, note 22. The scene appears on a panel-and-strigil sarcophagus of pronounced "Asiatic" type at Arles (Wilpert, J., *I sarcophagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 1929-32, pl. 148/2), and seems a constant feature throughout Lawrence's "Asiatic" Bethesda series, located by her in Provence. Of these, only Tarragona (Lawrence, no. 114, Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pl. 230/3) shows the scene intact. The series repeats itself so scrupulously, however, that the identical version may be reconstructed on those sarcophagi that contain only a part of

Christ and the tree: in the Lateran (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pl. 230/6), at Die (*ibid.*, pl. 230/5), and on the five-arch example at Clermont-Ferrand which repeats the typical Bethesda motives (*ibid.*, pl. 230/5). Wilpert accepts its presence on the sarcophagi preserved only in small fragments at Vienne, Arles, and Avignon (*ibid.*, pl. 230/4; text II, p. 295, fig. 184). Wilpert's derivation of the whole Gallic series from a Roman fragment so small and noncommittal that it may equally well have belonged to the commonplace scene of the Entry alone is completely improbable (*ibid.*, text II, p. 310, pl. 255/3). Later the scene occurs on a ciborium column of S. Marco (Venturi, L., *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901-, I, fig. 236); and may be inferred in Milan around 400 from a titulus ascribed to Ambrose, with the verse:

"Zachaeus in ramo est rapti iam prodigus auri;
Feminaque immundum miratur stare cruorem."

(Cf. Merkle in *Röm. Quart.*, X, 1896, pp. 214 ff.). The pairing of Zacchaeus and the Woman with an Issue thus accomplished is precisely that illustrated by the Arles panel-and-strigil sarcophagus cited above.

71. Van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, p. 79; *Liber Pont.*, I, p. 236, note 17.

72. Weigand, E., *Monogramnimbus*, p. 587, summarizes opinions.

73. Lawrence, *Columnar*, p. 165, note 150.

The doors of S. Sabina have in recent years been claimed as the work, in large part, of north Italian sculptors on the basis of a notable iconographic detail: the use on one panel of the Constantinian monogram in the nimbus of Christ (Fig. 41).⁷⁴ Weigand has shown that this convention is elsewhere confined to monuments of upper Italy. He further stresses the fact that the panel representing the Ascension within a wreath aureole (Fig. 40) is paralleled in that detail only by two lost sarcophagi of Marseilles.⁷⁵ He notes as a possible clue to these evidences of northern activity in Rome the fact that the founder of the church, Bishop Peter, is recorded in its dedicatory inscription as "Illyrica de gente."⁷⁶

Baldwin Smith has noted in the S. Sabina Adoration of the Magi two significant iconographic details (Fig. 42).⁷⁷ The scene is placed in front of a brick wall; direct parallels to this curious setting are found in the Adorations, both of beasts and Magi, of the Milan book covers and the Nevers plaque (Figs. 22 and 25).⁷⁸ Similar masonry backgrounds rendered with a scrupulous attention to detail appear elsewhere in the work of the school and on the Pola casket. The sarcophagi studied by Lawrence have provided a possible indication in the city-gate series, and more closely in the unique seven-arch sculpture of Arles; a second Arles fragment uses brick work to fill its spandrels.⁷⁹

At the same time, the advancing Magi wear a characteristic garment, the "notched chiton," which descends in a triangle over the abdomen to pass between the legs. Smith speaks of this as a Provençal characteristic; here again the qualification must rather be loosened to include the north Mediterranean area as a whole.⁸⁰ A summation of the evidence furnished by its use in Early Christian art indicates that the notched chiton is an eastern type, present in the northern area in fairly even competition with the usual Latin formula. In Rome it is extremely rare, and smothered under an overwhelming weight of local usage. The doors' Adoration, combining this exotic feature with the equally significant masonry background, seems unmistakably a product of artistic currents disseminated from the north.

As noted above, the doors' Ascension panel showing Christ in a circular mandorla surrounded by the four Beasts (Fig. 40) is linked by the arrangement of these symbols to the iconographic practice of Ravenna, Venice, and the "School of Provence." The scene here is basically "Asiatic" in type since its lower register contains the Virgin and two Apostles as witnesses of the miracle; it is the more striking, then, that its placing of the Beasts should depart from the orthodox Asiatic sequence of the Rabula Gospels and the frescoes of Bawit and Saqqara, to follow what seems a local peculiarity of the north Mediterranean area.

A further detail linking the doors of S. Sabina to the regional style here summarized is its centrifugal treatment of the egg-and-dart, both as a panel border like those of the later

74. Wiegand, J., *Das altchristliche Hauptportal an der Kirche der Hl. Sabina*, Trier, 1900, pl. 6. Weigand, *op. cit.*, p. 589. The Constantinian monogram is worn by Christ in the apsidal mosaic in the chapel of S. Aquilino, Milan (Wilpert, *Mos. u. Mal.*, III, pl. 40); and seven times on sarcophagi of Ravenna (Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pls. 336/4, 345/1, 346/2, 344, 332/2, 311). It is worn by the Lamb of God on two sarcophagi of Ravenna (Garrucci, V, pl. 355, Dutschke, *Rav. Stud.*, fig. 30), and one of S. Antonio, Padua. The silver amula in the Museo Sacro also has Christ with the monogram nimbus, and the silver reliquary at Grado gives the monogram nimbus to the Virgin (see Arnason, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 and 212 ff.). Aside from these last two objects, which are shown by Arnason to be of north Italian provenance, and the S. Sabina doors, the sole occurrence of this detail outside of the north is on a probably late and

highly unusual sarcophagus at Terni, with the *alpha* and *omega* (*Bull. arch. crist.*, 1870, p. 122).

Wiegand sees a primitive version of this iconography in the use of the Constantinian monogram with *alpha* and *omega* in the nimbus of Valentinian on his silver *Missorium* at Geneva. He calls the emperor Valentinian II, and emphasizes his residence in Milan as a source of the appearance of the detail in Christian art of the north Mediterranean. Delbrueck ascribes the plate rather to Valentinian I (*Consulardipt.*, p. 17), but since the latter's capital was also Milan, the question is not important to our purpose.

75. LeBlant, *Gaule*, pp. 35 and 32.

76. *Liber Pont.*, I, p. 236, note 17.

77. Smith, *Iconography*, p. 42 f.

78. *Ibid.*, figs. 155, 156, 164.

79. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 20/4, 38/1.

80. See EXCURSUS I at the end of this article.

"Provençal" ivories, and as an architectural ornament like those of the Pola casket, the Lampadiorum diptych, and the Orthodox Baptistry.⁸¹ Northern and eastern references are suggested by the division of columns by horizontal banding.⁸² Of the several sculptors employed on the panels, the figure style of one at least is close to the ivory norm of around 425; the six figures of the basilica panel raising their hands in acclamation (Fig. 43) reproduce the type both of the Probianus diptych (Fig. 17) and of the father and son on the Pola casket (Fig. 3). Again, the very idea of decorating a door surface with figure scenes forms no part of the Hellenistic and Roman academic tradition; what parallels exist for the treatment at S. Sabina are furnished by the doors of S. Ambrogio at Milan⁸³ and by the door panels of the Holy Sepulcher shown on the Trivulzio and British Museum ivories (while behind such northern practice must lie an eastern suggested by the grave stelae of Asia Minor with door panels showing the deceased or a representation of Herakles and Attis,⁸⁴ and by the synagogue frescoes at Dura showing an elaborately figured door leading to the Temple).⁸⁵

The most constant indication of relationship between the S. Sabina doors and the Christian art of the north is their presence as an integral link in the chain of Passion illustrations. We shall discuss this whole subject more fully in subsequent pages; here it may simply be said that as a part of such a development in the north they form one step in a logical and coherent series, while as a monument of Roman inspiration they would be unique.⁸⁶

The only basis on which a Roman source for their sculpture can be argued is of course that of location in the metropolis. Here, however, there are factors outside of the doors themselves to make such a basis something less than satisfying. Wiegand has mentioned the Illyrian origin of the Bishop Peter by whom the basilica of S. Sabina was donated. The inscription panel above the entrance to the church, the only remains of its original mosaic decoration, is enclosed within a double wave border whose close parallel surrounds the lunette mosaics of the Galla Placidia Mausoleum in Ravenna (Fig. 48).⁸⁷ The two figures of the Churches are set against a plain gold background, without sky or architecture, which elsewhere is used only in the late fourth century apse of S. Aquilino at Milan; in the prophet medallions of the Orthodox Baptistry of the mid fifth century; in the fifth century bust medallion of the St. Victor Chapel of S. Ambrogio at Milan; behind the Christ trampling on lion and dragon of the Ravenna Archbishop's Palace around 500; and thereafter generally in Ravenna during the sixth century.⁸⁸ Finally the head of S. Sabina's "Ecclesia ex Circumcisione" shows a strong resemblance to that of St. Felicitas in the Ravenna Archbishop's Palace around 500, with no greater differences than their respective dates can justify (Figs. 46 and 47).⁸⁹

If the mosaics in the triumphal arch of S. Sabina shown in Ciampini's drawing were actually a part of the original foundation, as De Rossi believes,⁹⁰ it is important to note that their scheme of medallions has a mosaic parallel first in the same Archbishop's Palace, then

81. Wiegand, *op. cit.*, pl. 3. See above, p. 154.

82. See above, note 53.

83. Goldschmidt, A., *Die Kirchenthür des Hl. Ambrosius in Mailand*, Strassburg, 1902.

84. *Mon. Asiae Minoris Ant.*, I, 1928, p. 223, no. 424.

85. Yale University, *Preliminary Report on the Synagogue at Dura*, 1936, pl. 48.

86. See below, pp. 178 ff.

87. The similarity is made more significant by the extreme rarity of the double-wave motif in this mosaic form. I have found it elsewhere only in the Hellenistic patterns

of Delos, and in Roman work at Lyons (Blanchet, *Mos. de la Gaule*, no. 734), the latter location adding to the evidence already established of contact between north Italy and Gaul.

88. S. Aquilino; Wilpert, *Mos. u. Mal.*, III, pl. 40. Baptistry; *ibid.*, pl. 80. St. Victor; *ibid.*, pl. 83. Archbishop's Palace; *ibid.*, pl. 89.

89. Wilpert, *ibid.*, pl. 95.

90. Van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, fig. 89; De Rossi, G. B., *Musaici cristiani*, Rome, 1899, pp. 67 ff.



FIG. 51—Christ before Caiaphas



FIG. 52—Christ before Pilate



FIG. 53—Crucifixion



FIG. 52—Crucifixion

Rome, S. Sabina: Wood Doors



FIG. 53—*Brescia, Museo Civico: Ivory Casket, Lid*



FIG. 54—*Medal of Helena*



FIG. 55—*Medal of Flaccilla*



FIG. 56—*Brescia, Museo Civico: Ivory Casket, Front*

in S. Vitale and Parenzo, and in the east in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.⁹¹ S. Sabina's sixteen medallion busts flanking the Christ must recall the identical arrangement on the Brescia casket, where Kollwitz' analysis has identified them as the twelve Apostles and the four Evangelists.⁹² Ravenna furnishes a later and more elaborate collection of the same type in the standing figures of S. Apollinare Nuovo, which seem to comprise the Apostles, the Evangelists, and the major and minor Prophets.⁹³

The summation, then, of evidence furnished by the doors of S. Sabina themselves and by the rest of the church's decoration is decisive indication that their location in Rome proves no more than the financial and artistic assistance sought by the Roman church of the early fifth century from the north.

* * *

A third major monument upon which the relationship between Rome and the upper Mediterranean may be balanced is the ivory casket of Brescia, the so-called "Lipsanotheca." This sculpture has for the first time been made the subject of a study commensurate with its importance in the recent monograph of Kollwitz.⁹⁴

Here the somewhat chaotic results attained by previous scholarship have been summarized and subjected to a competent critical analysis; the chief value of Kollwitz' work, indeed, lies in that clearing of ground which is a necessary preamble to advance. For the long-disputed problems of date and origin, his method has provided an indispensable nucleus of argument. The general provenance of the Brescia casket, as Kollwitz shows, rests on a firm basis of iconography. Its version of the Raising of Lazarus is that of the Roman catacombs and Latin style in general, with the gabled tomb which is no less characteristic of Latin use than the arched is of "Syro-Anatolian," and the truncated of Coptic.⁹⁵ In the "Schulterkragen" or shoulder cape, again, the casket's shepherds wear a garment unknown outside of the Latin west.⁹⁶ Against these facts, the Syrian or Asian attributions of Reil, Wulff, Dalton, and Becker may be set aside as based on only the most general sort of evidence.⁹⁷ Even the assertion of Strzygowski that the casket's architecture is peculiarly eastern seems more vulnerable than its acceptance by a whole generation of critics would suggest. Kollwitz solves the question of date by a rough attribution to the late fourth century; basing his arguments on the differentiation in type between Peter and Paul which seems unknown in the early century, and chiefly on the relative elaboration of the illustrative cycle, which considerably surpasses that of the "Passion sarcophagi" of the mid century and yet has not reached the stage of monuments around 400.⁹⁸

Beyond this initial success, however, Kollwitz has attempted to strengthen his conclusion by a stylistic analysis, with results so completely inadmissible that they seriously impair the value of his study as a whole. I summarize his method in a long footnote, because it is based upon a point of view directly relevant to my own study of the development of Christian art in the west.⁹⁹

91. Van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, figs. 134, 189, 192-6, 221, 235, 238; Arnason, *op. cit.*, p. 201 and note 54.

92. Kollwitz, *Lipsanotheka*, pp. 9 ff.

93. Friend, A. M., in *Art Studies*, 1927, p. 129.

94. Kollwitz, J., *op. cit.*

95. Smith, *Iconography*, pp. 108 ff.

96. Rodenwaldt, G., in *Röm. Mitth.*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 58 ff.

97. Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 64 ff.

99. Following the facile antithesis of *Orient oder Rom*, Kollwitz begins by a statement of the general characteris-

tics of late antique sculpture in the Latin and Greek areas. At all times when comparison is possible, he finds a contrast in one basic principle. The east appreciates plastic form, and retains the shadow of that preoccupation even into the sixth century; the west has in comparison little interest in plasticity even in its maturest sculpture, and by the end of the fourth century has lapsed into a style almost completely two-dimensional and linear. Since the end of the western development is flatness, Kollwitz assumes that the progress of Latin sculpture throughout the fourth century may be measured from one decade to the next by a regular decadence of plastic form. The convenient

While the fourth century sarcophagi of the west provide a hazardous basis for stylistic comparison with ivories, they contribute toward an iconographic argument for date which Kollwitz has not used. This is the type of hair-dressing in use on the women of the casket, a fashion which the author states had been in use since the Empress Helena, and which he calls the "Scheitelzopf" (Fig. 53).¹⁰⁰ Such continuity is denied by the researches of Delbrueck in his *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*.¹⁰¹ Here is shown a change away from the "Scheitelzopf" method datable apparently in the last years of Helena's life and to be seen in the posthumous medal of around 330 as well as in those of Constantia; two braids are wound around the head, and a lappet of hair hangs from ear level a third of the way to the shoulder (Fig. 54). Unfortunately a gap in empress medallions from 330 to around 385

start for such measurement is the columnar sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, which bears the date 359 (Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 69, pp. 128 ff.; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 13. A recent defense of the date by Gerke, F., in *Riv. di arch. crist.*, 1933, 1/2). The stage of complete flatness Kollwitz illustrates by the city-gate sarcophagi of Ancona and Milan, and by the columnar of Probus in Rome, first and last of these datable around 390 (Lawrence, *Columnar*, nos. 96, 97, 14; *City-gate*, pp. 6 ff. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 188-9, 14, 35). Two sarcophagi less plastic than the Junius Bassus and less flat than the latter group are the double-frieze examples of the Trinity in the Lateran, and of Adelfia in Syracuse (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 96 and 92; Soper, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIX, p. 155, note 12, nos. IV and X). These may be placed between, around 370. They represent a stage fairly close to that of the Brescia casket; therefore it too may be placed in the 'seventies.

It is a remarkable feature of Kollwitz' argument that every step forward involves a fallacy no less striking than the last. His contrast between the sculpture of the east and west is a questionable one at best. The conclusion he draws, that all else in western sculpture of the Early Christian period may be subordinated to the simple and measurable approach of a "flat style" is quite untenable. It is refuted first of all by the very sarcophagi chosen by Kollwitz to illustrate his process; in 359 the Junius Bassus sepulcher still fairly three-dimensional and spatial in its design, at the end of the century two city-gate and one columnar, completely flat. At this crucial point, having labored so earnestly to establish the eternal plasticity of the Greek east, Kollwitz has chosen precisely the most eastern group of all Christian sarcophagi to demonstrate a stage of thorough flatness. It must be assumed that the author, for all his analyses of east and west, is capable of recognizing an eastern sculptural style only within the obvious limits of the geographical Orient. It may further be taken for granted that his acquaintance with Christian sarcophagi does not include the significant criticism of almost a decade past. The evidence need hardly be presented again by which Marion Lawrence has established the fundamental "Asiatic" character of the city-gate group and of columnar sculpture like that of Probus. The result of her studies must be emphasized, however, for the light they throw on the very period of Kollwitz' study. The latter half of the fourth century illustrates not the simple decadence of one sculptural current, but instead the complex interaction of two: the native Latin tradition on the one hand and on the other an alien style wholly different in ideals and methods, closely linked to the Greek east, and probably operating in the west from strongholds in upper Italy and Provence. To Kollwitz this is simply a "Flachenstil," and its members may be set without distinction in a single decade. Actually, as Lawrence has shown, the city-gate sarcophagus at Milan must be separated by twenty years or so from its descendant at Ancona, or from the sepulcher of Probus; it is contemporary with

some of the most plastic works of the Junius Bassus circle, in the third quarter of the century, and at that time stands as one of the earliest examples of the imported "Asiatic" style.

My study of the double-frieze sarcophagi has established the strong probability that the two works which for Kollwitz represent the stage of 370 and the closest stylistic parallel to the Brescia casket, should instead be placed a whole generation earlier, in the 'forties. Set beside the Bassus sculpture of 359 they constitute not a later decadence but rather a preliminary phase of mediocrity from which the Junius Bassus sarcophagus emerges as part of a well-defined sculptural renaissance of the mid century (Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.). By that relationship, again, they emphasize how little the art of the late antique period can be measured by a single factor of degeneration.

The criterion of flatness as a precise indication of date is contradicted not only by the general stylistic development but by individual sarcophagi in themselves. A single trough may show the widest difference in recognition of plastic values between its front and its ends. The two-register columnar type at Arles (Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 70; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 125/2, 242/1) presents on its façade short, stocky figures, almost freestanding. These vary in plastic effect; in one bay, which shows the Healing of the Woman with an Issue, the actors are almost realistically spatial in their grouping, and far surpass in three-dimensional suggestiveness any similar combination on the Brescia casket. The sarcophagus ends, on the other hand, are almost completely flat, and the figures assume something like the distortion of Egyptian drawing, in which each member is presented in its simplest aspect without regard for the rest. There is no reason to suppose that these two sculptural fields are of different date.

The very process of stylistic comparison between the ivory casket and stone sarcophagi for any date but the most general would be of dubious value, even were the stone satisfactorily fixed in period. Kollwitz' dependence on this method is the more surprising in view of his constant emphasis elsewhere on the wide differences which separate the Lipsanotheca from the sarcophagus tradition, in execution no less than in subject matter and iconography. It is unsafe even on general grounds to assume that two currents so widely separated must move parallel at the same speed; in this instance, variation is exaggerated by the comparative freedom of ivory carving from the "Asiatic" influence which in the later century almost overwhelmed the Latin sarcophagus tradition. The gap at the end of the century which separates such works as the Trivulzio and Symmachorum ivories from sarcophagi of the Red Sea, Bethesda, star-and-wreath, and late city-gate groups, should be ample warning against the attempt to draw any close stylistic parallel at an earlier date.

100. Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

101. Delbrueck, R., *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, pp. 46 ff.

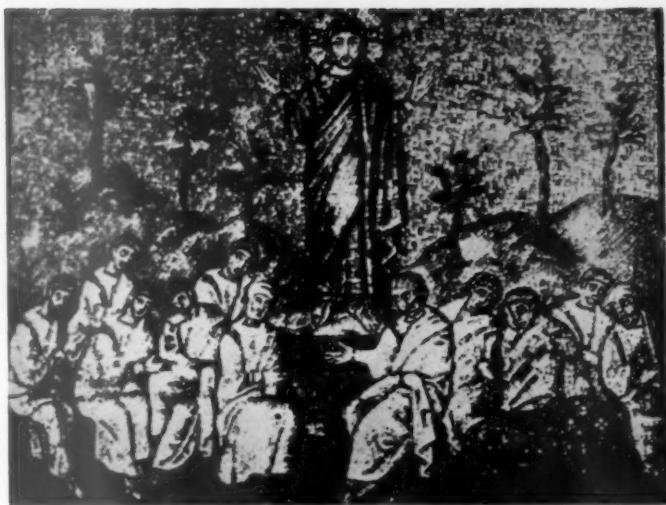


FIG. 57—Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo: Mosaic



FIG. 58—End

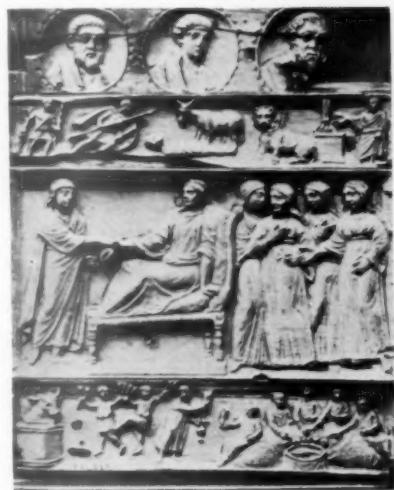


FIG. 59—End



FIG. 60—Back

Brescia, Museo Civico: Ivory Casket



FIG. 61



FIG. 62



FIG. 63



FIG. 64

Venice, St. Mark's: Ciborium Column, Details

prevents a complete proof; it is Delbrueck's opinion, however, that the new fashion persisted until well after the mid century, and that a return to the "Scheitelzopf" of Helena (which is standard on all empresses after the series of medals begins again) took place only around 375 (Fig. 55). This system, based on an arrangement of fourth century imperial medallions, is substantiated by the sarcophagi of the period.¹⁰² Such general use of the Helena coiffure as appears on the Brescia casket can hardly be assumed before the 'eighties.

While the date of the Lipsanotheca is of incidental interest, the question of its provenance may serve as a focus for the whole problem of the growth of Christian art in the west. The solution here offered by Kollwitz seems as timid as his essay in stylistic criticism is rash. In his opinion, knowledge of regional differences in the art of Latin Christianity is not yet broad enough to warrant any attribution to a specific area. His official verdict, therefore, is simply an origin somewhere in the west. Behind this disclaimer of responsibility he ventures a suggestion in the last two sentences of the chapter. The casket's scene of David and Goliath appears elsewhere exclusively on sculptures of Gaul and north Italy, and seems to center around Milan. Milan is not far from Brescia, the home of the casket since time immemorial; the bare possibility of a Milanese provenance must be kept in mind.¹⁰³

A more thorough investigation of the casket's subject matter should separate its scenes into three iconographic groups. For the first two no parallels of any consequence exist, and from them no conclusions of provenance can be drawn. These are the Arrest of Christ, on the lid; the allegory of Christ, the Hireling Shepherd, and the Wolf, on the front; the early Moses episodes, on the back; the Destruction of Korah,¹⁰⁴ on one end, and on the other, the Death of the Man of God and the Worship of the Golden Calf. The prototypes for these are lost, and if the subjects reappear in later art, as in the elaborate Old Testament sequences of the Octateuchs, the handling is so different as to suggest another tradition from the start.

The second group contains those subjects which by the mid fourth century had become the common property of the Latin regions, after a probable dissemination from Rome. Such are the several miracles of Christ, the episodes of Jonah, Daniel, Susannah, and Moses, and the group of Christ Teaching His Apostles. To these should probably be added the rare scenes which appear both in Rome and in Gaul, in a very few examples only; the Ananias story, the Raising of Jairus' Daughter, and Jacob's Ladder. The appearance of these on a monument of the later fourth century can indicate no more than a general source within the Latin west.

The third group, and the most significant, consists of subjects which outside of the casket either appear only in the north Mediterranean region of Spain, Provence, and upper Italy, or are there so clearly preponderant that their presence in Rome is exceptional. These are the Combat of David and Goliath; Jacob's Wrestling with an Angel; the Good Shepherd who wears a pallium instead of the normal shepherd's *exomis*; Christ in Gethsemane; the Betrayal; Judas Hanged; the Denial of Peter; Christ before Pilate (in the form here taken by the scene); the Transfiguration; and probably Christ before Caiaphas.¹⁰⁵

102. The portrait busts on various double-frieze sarcophagi, which I date for iconographic reasons between 330 and 360, show a close similarity to the posthumous Helena coiffure of 330 (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 92, 96, 122; Soper, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168). The same is on one of the few dated sarcophagi, of 353 (Wilpert, *ibid.*, pl. 70/4), and in related form on the Junius Bassus sepulcher of 359 (*ibid.*, pl. 13). It is recognizable on the Roman gold medallion of Valens (Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, p. 49). The *Scheitelzopf*, outside of its reappearance in empress portraits, is rare in sculpture;

beside the Brescia casket, it is seen on the city-gate sarcophagus at Tolentino, dated by Lawrence after 390 (Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 99; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 94), and on the silver vase found at Traprain Law in Scotland (see Arnason, *op. cit.*, fig. 34).

103. Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 62 f.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 26. This interpretation of a disputed scene, justified by a long analysis, seems correct.

105. See EXCURSUS II at the end of this article.

Here is a group of scenes whose iconographic treatment points clearly away from Rome and toward a north Mediterranean area. Their evidence is not all of the same quality; we would be willing to discard from the first line of attack the Transfiguration, the Arrest, the Good Shepherd, and Christ before Caiaphas, since the parallels available for these are in one way or another somewhat inconclusive. Those that remain, however, form a striking series. In it are three of the five scenes of Christ's Passion given primary position on the casket's lid, and a fourth, the Hanging of Judas, on a side panel. The importance of these depends not only upon individual episodes which are linked iconographically to the north, but even more on their combination into a cycle of events in historical sequence.

Kollwitz' study has granted a position of crucial significance to the casket as a milestone in the development of Christian illustration.¹⁰⁶ Before it lie the frescoes of the Roman catacombs and their descendants, the frieze sarcophagi of the fourth century. In these, the illustration, valued only as a symbol of a reality inexpressible in earthly terms, is set in its barest terms of Hellenistic allegory; the artistic scheme of a sarcophagus or tomb is simply the juxtaposition of as many of these isolated statements of faith as the space allows. Kollwitz sees in the fourth century a break with the past epitomized by official acceptance of Christianity. There is no longer that exclusive preoccupation with Heavenly things which accepts the concrete only as a mirror of the divine. The earthly secures a valuation for its own sake; the method of Christian art becomes less and less the pure symbol of dogma and increasingly the illustration of historic events. The old abstract formulae are elaborated by narrative detail, or even are transformed. Thus the casket substitutes for the conventional single figure of the catacombs, a whole new parable of Good Shepherd, Hireling, Sheep, and Wolf (Fig. 56). The Denial by Peter, which in earlier formula had been simply foreshadowed by Christ's prophecy and by the cock, is here the act itself, before the maid-servant (Fig. 53). With fourth century art in general the casket introduces a number of new scenes whose chief interest is a narrative one. Most significant of all, growing pleasure in the story for its own sake effects the creation of a form new to Christian art, the episodic cycle. This method appears in only a few of the sarcophagi which typify the current general in fourth century art, and stands in obvious disagreement to the characteristics of such sculpture as a whole. Its use on the casket is marked, notably on the lid where five scenes lead through the first stages of the Passion (Fig. 53), and in the three closely related episodes from the story of Jacob (Fig. 58). Kollwitz traces the appearance of the cyclical method in sculpture to the more progressive art of book illustration in which it is a natural development. He stresses the importance of the Brescia casket because it is the earliest sculptural monument in which that method is used in effective form; in view of the non-survival of fourth century manuscripts, it is the earliest monument in any medium. He uses the relative development of the cyclical scheme to date the casket approximately. Its five moments of the Passion are obviously a stage beyond even the most elaborate of the columnar "Passion sarcophagi," in which no more than two or three episodes appear with no regard for historical sequence.¹⁰⁷ It is, on the other hand, less mature than monuments of the early fifth century in which are first found the scenes conspicuously lacking in its own arrangement, the Crucifixion and the following cycle of the Resurrection.

At this point the value of a systematic analysis of the casket's iconography should become clear. The most significant factor in the Lipsanotheca's illustration is its decided

106. Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.

107. Von Campenhausen, *Die Passions-sarkophage*, in

Marburger Jhb., V, 1929, pp. 39 ff. But see Lawrence, *Columnar*, p. 106, note 24.



FIG. 65—*Betrayal*



FIG. 66—*Christ before Caiaphas*



FIG. 67—*Denial by Peter*



FIG. 68—*Denial by Peter*



FIG. 69—*Christ before Pilate*

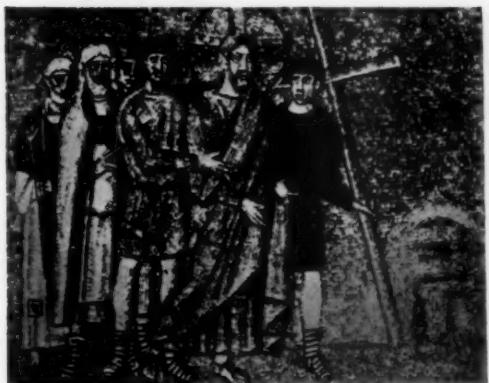


FIG. 70—*Via Crucis*



FIG. 71—*Holy Women at the Sepulcher*



FIG. 72—*Incredulity of Thomas*

Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo: Mosaics



FIG. 73—Rome, Lateran: Sarcophagus, Detail



FIG. 74—Rossano, Cathedral: Gospel Book, Christ before Pilate



FIG. 75—Rome, S. Maria Maggiore: Mosaic, Moses and Pharaoh's Daughter



FIG. 76—Rome, S. Maria Maggiore: Mosaic, Marriage of Moses

use of the cyclical sequence; the most striking instance of that method is the lid with its five moments of the Passion. In the use of the Passion cycle, a total of at least four out of six scenes are linked decisively to the north Mediterranean region. A fifth, the Arrest, points northward in the fact that the comparable moment of Betrayal is represented only in Gaul and north Italy. For the last, the Trial before Caiaphas, the possible Roman parallels are all doubtful, the northern clear. The conclusion is inescapable that the Brescia casket in its most indispensable element, the Passion cycle, reveals an impetus focussed in the upper Mediterranean and not in Rome.

The conclusion here reached is only a preliminary step. An extension of its methods will reveal that what is true of the comparatively simple cycle of the Lipsanotheca holds no less for the more elaborate Passion sequences which follow it. Throughout the Early Christian period these have no discernible source in Rome, nor more than a precarious footing in the metropolis; their central current moves along the great routes of trade and administration and warfare from the east through Gaul, upper Italy, and Spain. In these regions alone appear not only the more developed cycles which succeed the Brescia casket, but, also, the great majority of the individual scenes completing the early Passion story. We pass these in brief review in an excursus.¹⁰⁸

Just as the Passion cycle in the west is peculiarly a development of the north Mediterranean region, so the application of an historical method to the other great divisions of the story of Christ seems strongly connected with the same cultural area, and exceptional in Rome. The first organization of Christ's activity into something like a chronological sequence comes not in the haphazard arrangement of miracles in the Roman catacombs and on the Latin frieze sarcophagi, but on the Bethesda type of sarcophagus located by Miss Lawrence in Provence.¹⁰⁹ The first sequence which includes the whole of the Christ cycle up to the Passion story may be reconstructed about the ivory of Smith's school preserved in three fragments in Berlin, Paris, and Nevers (Figs. 21 and 22).¹¹⁰ The faithful copy of these plaques on the Carolingian book cover of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, indicates what must have been their original arrangement;¹¹¹ the episodes follow each other in clockwise direction from the top down the right side through the Adoration of Ox and Ass, that of the Magi, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Baptism, the Miracle at Cana. The bottom panel is lost; the sequence begins again on the left, and although there is no proof that the clockwise sense is still continued on this panel, that order does follow Matthew through his chapters viii and ix with the Miracles of the Gadarene Swine, of the Paralytic, and of the Woman with an Issue.

We may see a simple three-episode cycle from the early life of the Virgin on a sarcophagus lid in Syracuse, undoubtedly executed by the half "Asiatic" palm-and-city-gate atelier.¹¹² The first elaborate treatment of the apocryphal story comes in the later phase of Smith's series with the Werden casket and the Milan book covers.¹¹³ The former of these follows a strict historical order on its three sides except in placing the Annunciation at the Spring at the end of one panel (a shift probably determined by the sculptural habit of using a similar scene of Peter's Smiting the Rock as a favorite terminal motif of frieze sarcophagi).¹¹⁴ In this casket the feeling for sequence of events is so strong that the panel

108. See EXCURSUS III at the end of this article.

109. Lawrence, *City-gate*, p. 23 f.

110. Smith, *Iconography*, pp. 237 ff., figs. 163 and 164; pp. 248 ff., fig. 169; and in *Mon. Piot*, 1925-6, pl. 14.

111. Smith, *ibid.*, pp. 248 ff.

112. See EXCURSUS I at the end of this article.

113. Smith, *ibid.*, pp. 206 ff., figs. 155 and 156; pp. 221 ff., figs. 157 and 158; *Art Studies*, '24, p. 104 f.

114. Similarly, the scene at the right of this panel on the Werden casket recalls the typical composition of a Raising of Lazarus.

of the Baptism is provided with two rare preparatory scenes; the Pharisees coming to hear John preach, and an illustration of his allegory of the Unfruitful Tree.

The mid fifth century cycle of Christ's childhood executed by Pope Sixtus III for the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome may without embarrassment be set down as the result of influences germinating not exclusively in that city itself, but in the north as well. As we have noted, the *Liber Pontificalis* records the constant intervention of Valentinian III from Ravenna in the building and decoration of Roman basilicas under Sixtus.¹¹⁵ Strong northern characteristics in the contemporary doors of S. Sabina have been ascribed above to the participation of sculptors from Provence or upper Italy. The same sort of evidence holds for the Sistine mosaics.¹¹⁶ On the Magi are found the notched chitons of northern and eastern practice. Up the gable of the Temple of Jerusalem runs a centrifugal egg-and-dart (Fig. 30), in the same architectural use as on the Pola casket and in the Orthodox Baptistry at Ravenna. The precise source of this illustrative matter has yet to be satisfactorily determined; for one of the more exceptional scenes, showing apparently the meeting of the Holy Family by the Egyptian governor Affrodosius, the only textual contact is with the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, a prime source of iconography for Smith's "School of Provence."¹¹⁷

In provincial Toulouse there is recorded a mosaic cycle in the church of Notre Dame de la Daurade which originally may have contained a childhood cycle as complete as that of S. Maria Maggiore, although simpler in detail. The researches of Woodruff have indicated for these mosaics the strong probability of a fifth or sixth century date.¹¹⁸

The great Christ cycle of the sixth century is that of the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, which begins with the Miracle at Cana and continues to the Appearance of the Risen Christ to the Apostles (Figs. 57, 65-72).

Finally it should be noted that the earliest elaborate historical presentation of the life of a saint in the west is recorded in the verses of Venantius Fortunatus (c. 565) which describe the painted Acts of St. Martin in the cathedral of Tours, erected in 472. Elsewhere, in his life of St. Martin, the poet mentions the presence of "Martini gesta" on the walls of S. Justina at Padua.¹¹⁹ No parallels to such hagiography seem to have existed in Early Christian Rome, where the saint was honored at most with a scene of his martyrdom, or by a representation beside the Christ.

The objection may be raised that the nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore show the early use of a very elaborate historical sequence in Rome. To this two answers are possible. In the first place, the balance of evidence weighs in favor of a date for these mosaics in the mid fifth century, at a period when the Christian art of Rome was subject to the most persistent suggestions from the north and east.¹²⁰ In the second, the subject matter of the

115. See above, pp. 163 ff.

116. Van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, pp. 45 ff., figs. 49-58; Wilpert, *Mosaiken*, pp. 473 ff., pls. 53-73; Richter and Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, London, 1904, pp. 275 ff. pls. 31 ff.

117. Smith, *Iconography*, p. 189, *et passim*.

118. Woodruff, H., *The Iconography and Date of the Mosaics of La Daurade*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIII, pp. 2 ff.

119. Von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch*, pp. 37 ff.; Steinmann, E., *Die Tituli u. die kirchliche Wandmalerei im Abendlande*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 82 ff. There is no sound foundation for Wilpert's statement that Old St. Peter's possessed a Constantinian cycle of scenes from the Acts of Peter. See below p. 183 and EXCURSUS V at the end of this article.

120. Their attribution by Richter and Taylor to the period of the pre-Constantinian "Basilica Siciinini" can hardly be taken seriously today. The more plausible mid fourth century date argued by Wilpert (*Mos. u. Mal.*, I, pp. 412 ff.) is backed by not much stronger evidence.

The *Liber Pontificalis* is noncommittal, saying of Liberius (352-66) simply, "Fecit basilicam nominis sui juxta macellum Libiae," and of Sixtus III (432-40), "Fecit basilicam Sanctae Mariae quae ab antiquis Liberii cognominabatur, juxta macellum Libiae." A reasonable explanation of these two entries would be an extensive enlargement by the later pope. This is demonstrably the situation in those basilica sites of the Adriatic coast where study by excavation has been possible, and particularly at Aquileia, whose fifth century church is over twice as large

Old Testament from which they draw seems to have received extensive illustration at a period considerably earlier than that of the Gospels, so that the habit of presenting such material in cyclical form was well established when the specifically Christian art was still limited to the method of the catacombs.¹²¹

More ambitious claims for the development of a mature New Testament cycle in the Constantinian period, both in the east and west, depend on evidence so late and hazardous as to be of almost no value.¹²²

The history of Gregory of Tours, citing the work done at Clermont in the mid fifth century by its ninth bishop, S. Namatius, contains one sentence which may appropriately sum up my argument, signifying as it seems to, a final triumph of the cyclical method in Gaul (II, *cap. 17*):

“Cuius (Namatii) coniux basilicam S. Stephani suburbano murorum aedificavit. Quam cum fucis colorum adornare velit, tenebat librum in sinum suum, legens historias actionis antiquas, pictoribus indicans, quae in parietibus fingere deberent.”

as the Constantinian (*La Basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna, 1933). The need for greatly amplified accommodations for Christian worship in the early fifth century must have been no less operative in Rome, where a large pagan element of the population became converts only with the formal interdiction of the pagan cults in 407-8.

The magnificence of the nave decoration of S. Maria Maggiore, with its Old Testament cycle of forty-two mosaic panels, accords readily with the age of Sixtus, who enjoyed the constant support and encouragement of Valentinian in his building; it is less reasonably imagined of Liberius, who was at odds with Constantius during his entire pontificate and spent three years of the term in actual exile. An inscription, above the entrance to the basilica, now lost, once recorded the verses of Sixtus dedicating the “nova tecta” in honor of the Virgin (*Liber Pont.*, ed. Duchesne, I, p. 235, note 2). The inscription still remaining in part of the triumphal arch, “Xystus Episcopus Plebi Dei,” may refer simply to the mosaics of the arch, but can with equal right have been placed in the most conspicuous part of the interior to claim for Sixtus its whole rebuilding and decoration. At least as early as the ninth century the highest Roman authority held the church and its mosaics to be the work of the fifth century pope; the letter of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne describing the basilicas of Rome says of Sixtus:

“fecit basilicam sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae cognomento Majorem . . . simili modo et ipse tam in metallis aureis, quamque in diversis historiis, sacris decoravit imaginibus.” (Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio Conciliorum*, XIII, p. 801.)

The supposed stylistic and iconographic differences, finally, which have been cited to support a fourth century date for the Old Testament cycle of the nave as against a fifth for the triumphal arch, are not invulnerable to a resolute attack. The most obvious stem simply from the different traditions followed in subject matter. As is summarized on this page above (and in EXCURSUS V) there is every reason to believe that an organized illustration of the Old Testament had been accomplished appreciably earlier than that of the New, and may go back even to the Hellenistic period of Septuagint translation in Alexandria. The faithful transcription in mosaic of a Pentateuch sequence already established in manuscript in the early empire would involve the use of backgrounds and wingless angels, just as these appear in the nave panels. The subject matter of the Gospels, on the other hand, may not have been given any cyclical illustration until the fourth century, at a period

when landscape was no longer of interest to the artist and was handled by him only when tradition demanded it. The scenes of the triumphal arch seem a later development, even, than the illustrated New Testament in general, since they depend on Apocryphal subject matter; a scene like the extraordinary Adoration of the Magi in which the Christ Child is shown isolated on a large throne seems to depend on no manuscript prototype, but to have been created to fulfill a dogmatic purpose in the church. From comparison with the style of 400, the arch mosaics are thoroughly modern, and their use of winged angels and a gold ground is wholly in keeping with the rest.

Various details of costume show that the comparatively faithful transcription of an earlier model in the nave cycle did not exclude the addition of contemporary fashions in dress which seem peculiar to the fifth century. The young Moses shown with Pharaoh's daughter and her maidens wears a purple chlamys on which a gold tablion reaches from stomach to knee (Fig. 75). According to Delbrueck (*Consulardipt.*, pp. 38 ff.), this form came into use around 400; the Missorium of Theodosius in 388 showing the earlier tablion placed below the knees. The chlamys in the style worn by Moses appears around 395 on Stilicho's son (*Consulardipt.*, no. 63); on the scribes of the Vicar Probianus around 400 (Fig. 17); on Constantius III in 417 (*Consulardipt.*, no. 2); and on the Consul Felix in 428 (Fig. 18). It is worn by the Egyptian governor Affrodosius on the Sistine arch (Wilpert, *Mos. u. Mal.*, pls. 66-8).

The toga worn by Moses at his marriage (Fig. 76) has a form which does not appear among the sepulchral portraits of the mid fourth century, but seems to be that of Probianus around 400 (Fig. 17), of an “eastern” diptych set by Delbrueck after 400 (*op. cit.*, no. 58) and later of Basilius in 480 (*ibid.*, no. 6) and of Boethius in 487 (*ibid.*, no. 7).

The coiffure of Moses' bride shows again not the fashions common on the mid fourth century sarcophagi, but a style, which, according to Delbrueck, passed out of fashion with the death of Helena around 330, was reintroduced around 375, and remained thereafter more or less standard (*Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, pp. 46 ff.; see above, p. 174 and note 101). There is no essential difference between the “Byzantine” robes of Pharaoh's daughter in the nave mosaic (Wilpert, *Mos. u. Mal.*, pl. 16) and the costume of the Virgin on the arch (*ibid.*, pls. 57 and 58). In the two series the peculiar robes of the Jewish high priests are identical.

121. See EXCURSUS IV at the end of this article.

122. See EXCURSUS V at the end of this article.

EXCURSUS I: THE NOTCHED CHITON IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

The distribution of the notched chiton in Early Christian art is a problem of some iconographic interest. With chlamys, trousers, and "Phrygian" cap it is a conventional indication of Persian dress in official Roman art: so on the arch of Galerius in Saloniki (Kinch, *L'Arc de Triomphe de Salonique*, Paris, 1890, pl. 5); and as late as the Trivulzio "composite" diptych (Delbrueck, *Consulardipt.*, no. 49). As a costume peculiarly eastern in flavor, it may characterize the Magi, adoring, seeing the Star, or before Herod; the Three Hebrew Children, either refusing to worship Nebuchadnezzar's image or standing in the furnace; and Daniel in the Lion's Den.

In the Adoration of the Magi, the geographical orientation of the detail is suggested by standard Byzantine practice in the east; thus the notched chiton appears in the Vatican Menologion of Basil II, in the later tenth century (Kehrer, H., *Die Heiligen Drei Könige*, Leipzig, 1909, fig. 49), in the Paris Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen (*ibid.*, fig. 48), and in a mosaic of Daphni (*ibid.*, fig. 51). At an earlier date it forms a part of the elaborate Nativity cycle on the Saloniki pulpit, now in the Istanbul Museum (*ibid.*, figs. 44 and 45). Along the Adriatic littoral, it turns up appropriately at Venice, in a relief on the façade of S. Marco (Onganía, F., *La Basilica di San Marco*, Venice, 1888, pl. 89/a); and is several times in Ravenna: in the nave mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo (van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, p. 141, fig. 178); as a detail on the robe of Theodora at S. Vitale (in *Felix Ravenna*, 1930, II, pl. 3), on the marble capsella of S. Giovanni Battista (*ibid.*, p. 2), on the sarcophagus of the Exarch Isaac in S. Vitale (Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pl. 311). It is a feature of the silver casket of Brivio in the Louvre (see Arnason, *op. cit.*, p. 215 f. and fig. 22). Smith's "Provençal" ivories include it during the fifth century in the Milan book covers, and the Nevers plaque (Figs. 22 and 25), and the Werden casket. It appears among Gallic sarcophagi of the late fourth century at Servannes, and on two lost examples of Trier (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 15; LeBlant, *Gaule*, pp. 11 and 53). It is on a Spanish example from Castiliscar, and on a lid in the Louvre from Cherchel, Algeria (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 219/3, 202/4). It occurs sporadically among the fifth and sixth century "Alexandrian" ivories: on the pyxides of Florence and Rouen (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pls. 437/5, 438/2), and on the British Museum book cover (Kehrer, *op. cit.*, fig. 37).

In Rome of the early fifth century, the presence of the notched chiton on the doors of S. Sabina is paralleled only by the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, a contemporary monument which was also influenced from the north (see above, p. 182). Otherwise it contrasts strikingly with normal Roman practice, as demonstrated by some thirty-eight sarcophagi, and clearly visible on five catacomb frescoes; there the chiton has the normal skirt, ending horizontally.

An interesting exception to this normal Roman practice is an early fourth century fresco of the Catacomb of Domitilla (Wilpert, J., *Le pitture delle catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903, pl. 116). The chiton, cut away in a shallow triangle from the side of the leg, seems a confused combination of the notched form with the Roman standard. The unusual iconography of the scene, placing Mother and Child between Magi advancing from either side, links this group with the very small group of Roman examples which presents a similar symmetry. In the Domitilla fresco there are two Magi on either side; in a painting in the same catacomb probably of the third century (*ibid.*, pl. 60), there is one on each side only. On a marble vase in the Terme Museum there are apparently three figures advancing on either side who represent, perhaps, three Magi and three shepherds (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pls. 427/5-6). The earlier version shows the Virgin in the three-quarter pose of the usual asymmetrical scene, and the two Magi wear the

Roman chiton. On the later fresco Mary is more nearly frontal, and the chitons of the four are semi-notched. The vessel shows her completely frontal, and the six figures wear eastern dress. It is an almost inescapable conclusion that these three unique examples represent early versions of the "Palestinian-Coptic" iconography which habitually places the Virgin and Child on one axis, and balances either three Kings with three shepherds, or two Magi with one Magus and an angel (Smith, *Iconography*, p. 53). This type is characteristically seen in the Monza ampullae (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pls. 433/7, 9, 434/1), the inserted miniature in the Etschmiadzin Gospels (Strzygowski, *Byz. Denk.* I, pl. 6), and the ivory diptych panels of the British Museum and Manchester (Kehrer, *op. cit.*, figs. 36-7). The catacombs prove the presence of this symmetrical eastern scheme in Rome as early as the third century; its infrequency there showed the Romans greatly preferred their own Hellenistic asymmetry. The marble vessel in the Terme shows a quality of execution and an emphasis on formal ornament which contrasts with even the best of Roman sarcophagi; this and the use of the notched chiton suggests that the sculpture or its creator may have been imported from the north or east.

In the simple scene which illustrates the appearance of the Star to the Magi, the notched chiton is found on the Saloniki pulpit cited above, on the Milan book covers and the Werden casket, and on two Arles sarcophagi of marked "Asiatic" figure style (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 198/1, 2).

A more elaborate illustration presents Magi and Star at the left of a long group, the kings bearing gifts as well; the figures at the right show the Adoration of the Beasts, and of Mary and Joseph. This version is found on four sarcophagus lids still extant and on one now lost. One of the former, in the Lateran, is still associated with its original trough, a member of Lawrence's palm-and-city-gate atelier, executed toward the end of the fourth century in a style strongly impregnated with eastern influences (Fig. 45; Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 111; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 151/1). Two isolated lids in Rome and the lost fragment in Provence may be ascribed to the same easternizing atelier, since they illustrate the scene in almost identical form (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 201/5, 224/3, LeBlant, *Gaule*, p. 53). The fourth lid, in Syracuse, with an inscription naming "Adelfia," at present covers a double-register frieze sarcophagus of purely Roman form (Fig. 44). That the two were not originally mated, however, is shown by their awkward relationship in size, and difference in marble and technique (Führer and Schultz, *Die altchr. Grabstätten Siziliens*, in *Hb. des D. A. I.*, Erg.-heft, VII, 1907, p. 313; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 92).

So close to the other four lids in its Adoration as to seem without question a work of the same palm-and-city-gate atelier, the Adelfia relief has on its left end two scenes which supply a further iconographic link with the north Mediterranean. At the end, the apocryphal Annunciation at the Spring is paralleled at this time only by the "Provençal" ivories of Milan and Werden. (Garrucci's objections, accepted by Smith, to the identification of this scene as the Annunciation, are not convincing; cf. Smith, *Iconography*, p. 12, note 7. The same personification of locality appears on the Brescia casket in the episodes of Moses on the Mount; cf. Kollwitz, *Lipsanotheka*, pl. 4. To call the group "Moses Striking Water," is to suppose a unique and unreasonable variant of what is otherwise one of the most standardized of Christian scenes.)

The adjacent scene, drawn also from the apocryphal Childhood Gospels of James or the Pseudo-Matthew, represents the Virgin receiving the purple wool, and surrounded by her companions. Elsewhere in the Early Christian art of the west, the life of the Virgin in the Temple is described only by the Milan and Werden ivories, and suggested by the incised slab of S. Maximin (Smith, *Iconography*, pp. 212, 215, 223). The presence of these

northern reminiscences in a sculpture of Syracuse must be explained as an importation either from the north or from Rome, where the palm-and-city-gate atelier, originally north Mediterranean, had established itself by the last quarter of the century.

The two instances of the Appearance of the Star in the Roman catacombs both show the normal chiton (Wilpert, *Petrus u. Marcellinus*, pl. 3; Garrucci, *Storia*, I, pl. 59/2).

The two scenes of the Magi before Herod and the Three Hebrew Children before Nebuchadnezzar may be conveniently combined in one statistical group. Here the notched chiton is found on the frieze sarcophagus at Servannes already cited; on a lost lid at St. Gilles; and on the city-gate end panel at Tolentino (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 15, 73/1; LeBlant, *Gaule*, p. 11). It appears on the triumphal arch mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore in the mid fifth century, and is typical in such a Byzantine manuscript as the Paris Gospels *cod. graec. 74* (Kehler, *op. cit.*, fig. 69). Thirteen Roman sarcophagi and two catacomb frescoes show the normal chiton.

The scene of the Three Hebrews in the Furnace is a favorite of Roman sarcophagi, where on twenty-two lids and end panels it appears with the normal chiton. Twelve catacomb frescoes unmistakably show the same convention. The notched chiton, which appears in such Byzantine versions as the Menologion of Basil II (*Codices e Vaticanis Selecti*, VIII, *Il Menologio*, etc., Rome, 1907, II, p. 257), and the Homilies of Gregory (Omont, H., *Miniatures des plus anciens mss. grecs de la B. N.*, Paris, 1929, pl. 57), is at Constantinople earlier in a relief (*N. bull. arch. crist.*, XII, 1906, fig. 112), and at Saqqara in a Coptic fresco (Quibell, *Saqqara*, II, 1906-7, pl. 55, 57/1).

A rare scene combines the Three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar and in the Furnace, showing two already in the flames and the third, turning his back to the king, about to be pulled up by a companion into the oven. This appears on three lid fragments in Rome. Its proper position with reference to complementary episodes can be judged by the original appearance of the palm-and-city-gate sarcophagus already cited under the Adoration of the Magi and Beasts and the Appearance of the Star (Fig. 45; Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 111; Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pl. 334/2). The scene is the creation of an easternizing atelier. Its method of combining two separate moments into a continuously moving narrative is perfectly paralleled by the pendant scene which unites the Appearance of the Star to the Magi with their Adoration and that of the Beasts. The atelier's alternative lid scheme is used on the Adelfia in Syracuse, presenting three episodes of the Virgin's early life and linking the two on the right in a close sequence of events; here is obvious the same interest in a continuous narrative. These three unique iconographic versions have a considerable importance, representing with a very few others the application of the cyclical method in sarcophagus sculpture of the fourth century.

The cycle of illustration, as Kollwitz has insisted in his study of the Brescia casket (*Lipsanotheka*, pp. 33 ff.), is the antithesis of the normal sarcophagus arrangement, side by side, of isolated and self-sufficient scenes. My study of the "double-frieze" sarcophagi and Lawrence's of the "Asiatic" have shown it appearing sporadically in the later fourth century, notably in the sequences illustrating the Flight of the Israelites from Egypt. Around the mid century, a lid panel at Avignon shows in one continuous narrative the pursuing hosts of Pharaoh, Moses and the fleeing Israelites, and the Miracle of the Quail; the double-register frieze sarcophagus at Carcassonne presents a similar sequence in more elaborate form (apparently substituting for the Quail the Miracle of Striking Water. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 209/2; Soper, "Latin Style," in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIX, p. 156, note 12 no. XII). In the most complete of the Red Sea sarcophagi, that of Aix, around 400, the narrative continues around three sides of the

trough, presenting with some awkwardness the most elaborate Old Testament cycle in all sarcophagus sculpture (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 97/2-4). The cyclical method, again, is strongly suggested by the Bethesda sarcophagi, for which Lawrence has indicated a Gallic origin. Here, as in the Red Sea series, motion is all in one direction, and the miracle scenes are shown by physical means as occurring previous to the Entry into Jerusalem (Lawrence, *City-gate*, pp. 23 ff.).

The cycle appears very early in Rome in the primitive sequence of Jonah. Beyond this single instance, however, it is unknown to the Roman tradition. Its use, therefore, on a series of lids in Rome otherwise connected with the palm-and-city-gate type, materially strengthens the evidence of iconography that these reliefs are present in the metropolis only as the work of sculptors strongly connected with the subjects and illustrative method of the north.

Returning to the notched chiton, the iconographic type of Daniel, finally, presents the simplest of evidence. Byzantine formula provides a Persian costume marked by the notched chiton; so in the single figure of Daphni (Friend, A. M., Jr., *The Portraits of the Evangelists*, etc., in *Art Studies*, V, 1927, fig. 91); in the Daniel and Lions of the Vatican *Cosmas* (Stornajolo, C., *Le miniature della Topografia Crist. di Cosma Indicopleuste*, Milan, 1908, pl. 40); in the Menologion of Basil II (II, p. 252); and in the Paris Homilies of Gregory (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 57). This appears earlier in Coptic architectural sculpture (Wulff, O., K. *Museen, Beschr. der Bildwerke, Altchristliche*, etc., Berlin, I, nos. 242, 1638); in a Syriac manuscript probably of the seventh or eighth century (Friend, *op. cit.*, fig. 46); in relief on two curving rims of the fourth or fifth from Djemila and perhaps from Cyprus (Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, III, 2, fig. 3470; Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 427; Michon, E., *Rebords de bassins chrétiens*, etc., Paris, 1916, pp. 14 ff., fig. 3; p. 78, fig. 33); and at Ravenna in the same period on two sarcophagi and among the stucco decorations of the Orthodox Baptistry (Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pls. 311, 332/3; VI, pl. 406). Roman practice invariably showed Daniel nude or wearing some sort of tunic of normal shape.

EXCURSUS II: THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE BRESCIA CASKET

The combat of David and Goliath (Fig. 59) appears on the lid of the city-gate sarcophagus at Ancona, a late member of the group centered by Lawrence in north Italy (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 14/3); on the wooden doors of Milan's S. Ambrogio, as part of an elaborate David cycle (Goldschmidt, A., *Altchristl. Holzthür*); on four sarcophagi of Gaul (Marseilles, Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, I, fig. 24; Reims, *ibid.*, fig. 5; Vienne, *ibid.*, pls. 194/2, 194/1). The *Ditthacaeum* of the Spaniard, Prudentius, already noted, significantly celebrates the combat in his Old Testament series, and suggests a David cycle of several episodes. The verses in question (19-20) are:

"David parvus erat, fratrum ultimus at modo Jesse
Cura gregis citharam formans ad ovile paternum
Inde ad delicias regis; mox horrida bella
Conserit et funda sternit stridente Goliam.
Regia mitifici fulgent insignia David . . . "

(Schlosser, J. von, *Quellenbuch zur Kunsts gesch. des abendländ. Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1896, N. F. VII, p. 6.)

Jacob's Wrestling with an Angel (Fig. 58) is a part of a sarcophagus at Narbonne which at the same time illustrates his dream. The only other Early Christian parallel to this Jacob sequence occurs in the eastern Vienna Genesis (Narbonne, Garrucci, *Storia*, V, app. p. 20; Genesis, *ibid.*, III, pl. 117/3).

The only other Good Shepherd who wears the pallium instead of the normal shepherd's exomis (Fig. 56) is that of the mosaic in the Galla Placidia Mausoleum in Ravenna (van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, fig. 105).

The scene of Christ in Gethsemane (Fig. 53) forms with three others a unique group of distinct iconography. These are the double-frieze sarcophagi at Servannes, a sarcophagus fragment at Carpentras, and a mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo (Servannes, Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 15; Carpentras, Schönebeck, H. von, *Das Siebente Jahrzehnt; Festschrift zum 70 Geburstag von A. Goldschmidt*, Berlin, 1935, p. 27, fig. 8; Ravenna, Fig. 57). The Carpentras stone has been called by Schönebeck an Ascension. This interpretation would provide a subject unique in so early a period, however; while the similarities to the Ravenna mosaic are so great (varying only in the fact that the Apostles here look at Christ instead of at each other) that no other scene but Gethsemane seems possible.

The Arrest (Fig. 53) has no exact parallels in handling. The closely allied scene of Judas' Kiss appears on four sarcophagi of Gaul (one lost), the late city-gate example at Verona, a mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo, and the ciborium column of S. Marco (Arles, Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 32/3; S. Maximin, *ibid.*, pl. 152/3; Servannes, *ibid.*, pl. 15; lost, *ibid.*, II, fig. 165; Verona, *ibid.*, pl. 150/2; Ravenna, Fig. 65; Venice, Fig. 23).

Judas Hanged is found in two roughly contemporaneous monuments, the Servannes sarcophagus and the British Museum "Passion casket" which is a member of Smith's "School of Provence" (Fig. 20). It is mentioned by the *Dittochaem* in terms which strongly suggest the description of a cycle of illustrations (stanza 39):

"Campus Acheldemach scleris mercede nefandi
Venditus exequias recipit tumulos humandas.
Sanguinis hoc pretium est Christi. Juda erimus arctat
Infelix collum laqueo pro crimine tanto."

(Von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch*, p. 9.) Later examples are the Milan ivory Passion diptych, a proto-Carolingian member of Smith's series; the column of S. Marco; and in the east, the sixth century Rossano and Rabula Gospels (Smith, *Art Studies* '24, fig. 20; Venice, Fig. 63, Garrucci, VI, pl. 497; Rabula, *ibid.*, III, pl. 138/1; Rossano, Muñoz, *Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano*, Rome, 1907, pl. 13).

The Denial by Peter (Fig. 53) has its only approximate parallel in the British Museum "Passion casket" (Fig. 20). The same episode with a more elaborate handling appears on the column of S. Marco (Fig. 62; Garrucci, VI, pl. 496). The important detail of the cock perched on top of a high pedestal, seen in this illustration and repeated in a border panel, is connected with the earlier version of the story in which the Denial is merely prophesied by Christ. The almost inevitable method of the frieze sarcophagi and of Latin imitations of the columnar style, in which the group is a favorite, is to place the cock on the ground at the feet of Christ and Peter (Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 199, note 142). Significance should attach, therefore, to the much smaller group of monuments which set the bird on a pedestal of some sort, or on a rock. These comprise: a mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo; the column of S. Marco; the Brescia casket; four sarcophagi in Gaul; two Roman sarcophagi of Lawrence's Junius Bassus atelier, whose constant imitation of Gallic models has been established by her study; another Roman sarcophagus fragment, in which Peter's robe is carved in the drapery style of the "Asiatic" columnar and city-gate sarcophagi (Soper, *loc. cit.*), and finally a Roman fresco in the Cimitero di Ciriaca showing Christ as bearded and apparently with a nimbus, which Wilpert dates in the second half of the fourth century. It must be reiterated that the three reliefs in Rome which elevate the cock, depart all of them in some other demonstrable fashion from the Roman norm. The fresco is late, and therefore of the period when Roman artists were busy imitating the sarcophagus fashions of the north. The bearded Christ it shows is an eastern type which first appears, in monuments which can be accepted without question, on the city-gate sarcophagi of Milan (Ra-

venna mosaics: Figs. 67 and 68. Sarcophagi: Arles, Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 111/2; lost, LeBlant, E., *Sarcophages Arles*, Paris, 1878, fig. p. 65; Lyons, Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 45/3; S. Maximin, *ibid.*, pl. 39/2; Rome, *ibid.*, pl. 121/3; Leyden, from Rome, Garrucci, V, pl. 319/4; Rome, Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 108/3. Fresco: Wilpert, *Pitture*, pl. 242).

Christ before Pilate (Fig. 53), a subject of great popularity in the later fourth century, is shown on some two dozen sarcophagi which preserve an identifiable form or can be reconstructed from drawings. The iconography of this group varies in detail with the amount of space available or the skill of the sculptor; in every case but one, however, the sarcophagi make prominent use of a unique element of design which is placed between Pilate and the servant who pours out water: a stand bearing what Wilpert calls a "clepsydra" (*Sarcophagi*, II, p. 317. Cf. Soper, *op. cit.*, notes 90 and 91). This detail is mentioned because its absence is one of the features which distinguish the much smaller group of Pilate scenes to which the Brescia casket belongs, and which includes by the strictest standards of comparison, only the British Museum "Passion casket" (Fig. 20), a mosaic of the Ravenna cycle (Fig. 69), the Milan Passion diptych (Smith, *Art Studies* '24, fig. 20), and, finally, the Cambridge Corpus Christi Gospels, perhaps of the eighth century (Garrucci, III, pp. 66 ff., pl. 141). Between these monuments and the sarcophagi there is a fundamental difference in the representation of the scene. The latter compose in the conventional manner of classic relief: action parallel to the face of the frieze, principal actors in the foreground plane; subsidiary figures behind. Whatever the ultimate source of the episode, its handling here is completely sculptural. The other group preserves with varying success a composition in space like that seen in the Codex Rossanensis (Fig. 74). Pilate is on his dais at the rear of the scene; Christ is led across in front of him; the relationship between their figures might be expressed by a line slanting diagonally back in space. The prototype of such a design is clearly pictorial; something of what must have been its original organization in space may be imagined from the council scene of the earlier Vatican Vergil; (*Codices e Vaticanis Selecti*, I, Rome, 1930, *Fragmenta Vergiliana Cod. Vat. Lat. 3225*, picture 49). Ascanius is throned well at the back, flanked by Nisus and Euryalus; two groups of soldiers are posted in diagonals advancing towards the front; foremost of all, and seen almost entirely from the rear, stand two interviewing officers. The sense of space is emphasized by placing the figures within an oval fortified enclosure, seen in bird's-eye view. (The same spatial device may have been projected and then abandoned for the Rossanensis Judgment, showing still as a semicircular line enclosing the top of the picture. The prototype of the Rossanensis scene, then, may have been set in a walled enclosure like that of the Vergil.) This realism of scheme suffered in Christian handling from the dogmatic necessity of showing Christ in His most dignified aspect, and thus from the front; it was disturbed even more profoundly by the general tendency of the late antique to reduce all action into the dimensions of a single picture plane. In the second Pilate episode of the Rossanensis, the solution is to transform the action into two registers, the lower representing the front plane as on the diptych of Probianus (Fig. 17). The British Museum ivory, here as in its handling of the Holy Sepulcher scene, retains an unusual measure of spatial suggestiveness (Fig. 20). The Brescia casket is less happy; its designer's tendency to think in two dimensions and to avoid all overlapping of important figures, succeeds in placing Christ so far to the side that His pictorial relationship to Pilate is lost (Fig. 53).

The two Asiatic codices of Rossano and Rabula are obviously related to the western group, differing chiefly in placing Pilate behind a high table (Fig. 74; Muñoz, *Cod. Purpureo*, pls. 13, 14; Rabula, Garrucci, III, pp. 52 ff.,

pl. 138). A misunderstanding of this feature may be responsible for the curious formula on a sarcophagus in the Lateran (Fig. 73; Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 20; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 121), which predicates the presence in Rome, as its prototype, of some version of the spatially organized Pilate scene similar to the eastern manuscripts, and to the Brescia casket's northern group. It is, in addition, probably the earliest extant example of the composition, dating perhaps a decade earlier than the casket. Far from pointing to Rome as the focus from which this Pilate iconography was disseminated, however, the sculpture indicates rather the opposite. In no other example is the design so deformed, so clearly forced into conformity with an incongruous ruling tradition (in this case, that of the columnar sarcophagi). The group of Christ and the soldiers is probably copied from the established iconography of the columnar group, and so is comparatively uncomfortable in its area; to the right, on the other hand, the Pilate group is so ill-adapted to the space allotted to it that the servant is reduced to a vestigial head and hand barely squeezed out of the background, and the attendant soldier finds room only around the corner of the sarcophagus on its end. Lawrence has shown in detail the omnivorous and ill-digested eclecticism which is the chief characteristic throughout the work of the atelier to which this Lateran sarcophagus belongs (*Columnar*, pp. 128 ff.). There is no indication here of Rome as a creative center, leading the development of Christian art in the west. This is rather the unintelligent use of an alien idea, forced into an academic mold in violation of all its essential characteristics.

Two monuments which in other instances have indicated a connection with the Brescia casket are in the Pilate episode less closely related. The panel of the S. Sabina doors is related to the group, since it omits the clepsydra and tripod, and like all members later than the casket, includes a Bearing of the Cross (Fig. 50). Its designer's preoccupation with a two-dimensional effect, however, has led him to reduce the composition to something like the profile scheme of the sarcophagus type. The elaborate version shown on the column of S. Marco furnishes several episodes in place of the single scene (Fig. 63). The Hand-Washing is a scene in which Pilate stands alone with the servant. The actual scene of Judgment is a reduction into the arcade organization of the column, of a scheme like that of the second Rossanensis picture (Fig. 62).

Other scenes may be adduced as evidence, though they are less decisive than the above.

The Transfiguration (Fig. 60; Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff., establishes this identification) had a contemporary parallel in Milan if the titulus ascribed to St. Ambrose is authentic. The verse runs:

"Maiestate sua rutilans sapientia vibrat
Discipulisque Deum, si possint cernere, monstrat."

(Cf. Merkle in *Röm. Quart.*, X, 1896, pp. 185 ff.)

For the Christ before Caiaphas, there is a Roman sarcophagus which may represent the scene, although the throned figure wears a diadem and is the exact type of Herod or Nebuchadnezzar elsewhere (Garrucci, V, pl. 316/1). There is also a late and very damaged mosaic, whose publisher, De Rossi, was uncertain whether the group might not refer rather to the Judgment of Pilate (*Bull. arch. crist.*, V, 1887, pl. 1 and text). There is an extremely dubious allusion in verses which seem to describe the illustrations of the titular church of Pammachius in Rome:

"Corruitura docet Christus decora inclita templi
Condens in melius tribus instauranda diebus."

(Cf. Wilpert, *Mos. u. Mal.*, II, p. 646 f.) If an illustration is meant, it should be rather one of the preaching mentioned in *John*, ii, 19, when Christ first spoke of rebuilding

the Temple in three days. For the north Mediterranean group, on the other hand, the parallels to the Brescia casket's scene before Caiaphas (Fig. 53) are certain. They are the familiar doors of S. Sabina (Fig. 51), a mosaic of the S. Apollinare Nuovo series (Fig. 66) the column of S. Marco (Fig. 61), and a description in the *Dittochaeum*, verse 40:

"Impia blasphemi cecidit domus alta Caiphae,
In qua pulsata est a lapis facies sacra Christi.
Hic peccatores manet exitus; obruta quorum
Vita ruinosa tumulis sine fine jacebit."

EXCURSUS III: THE PASSION-CYCLE IN THE WEST

The first of the further scenes of the Passion which are not a part of the Brescia casket's cycle is the Last Supper. This episode appears in the extant art of the west with the Milan book covers, around the mid fifth century (Smith, *Iconography*, pp. 129 ff., fig. 156); it is found later in the mosaic cycle of S. Apollinare Nuovo (van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, fig. 159) and the S. Marco column (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 496/3). In the mosaic is seen a close connection with the form taken by the scene in the Asiatic Codex Rossanensis (Muñoz, *op. cit.*, pl. 5). An earlier appearance in the west may have been in Milan at the end of the fourth century, since the Last Supper occurs among the tituli ascribed to Ambrose, with the verse:

"Aspice Johannem recubantem in pectore Christi
Unde Deum verbum assumpsit pietate fateri."

(Merkle, in *Röm. Quart.*, 1896, pp. 204 ff., and p. 214.)

The Washing of the Feet makes an early entry into western art with the "Passion sarcophagi" of the mid fourth century. The four stones which illustrate the scene are distributed evenly between Gaul and Rome: all are "Asiatic" in style, however, and are placed by Lawrence in her Gallic atelier I. The unfinished character of both Roman sarcophagi contributes to her assumption that such work was executed in Gaul for export to Rome, and was left partially rough to avoid breakage in transit. Later the Foot-Washing turns up on the S. Marco column, and on the Milan Passion diptych of Smith's series (*Sarcophagi*: Nimes, Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 16/2; Arles, *ibid.*, pl. 12/4; Rome, *ibid.*, pls. 12/5, 121/1; Venice, Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 496/3).

Christ Crowned with Thorns has been called the subject of an enigmatic fresco of the Cimitero di Pretestato, dated in the earlier second century (Garrucci, II, pls. 38 and 39; Wilpert, *Pitture*, pls. 17-20). This is the opinion of De Rossi and Wilpert; Garrucci calls the group the Baptism, and Marucchi, John the Baptist Bearing Witness. The diversity of these interpretations shows on what slender grounds any one of them can be based.

The subject occurs in the later fourth century on a Roman columnar sarcophagus of the Junius Bassus atelier, in the Lateran (Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 26; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 146/3). This sculpture is unique in architecture as well as in its use of the Passion episode, and is no better evidence for the Roman origin of the scene of Christ before Pilate than its cousin discussed above. The Crowning appears thereafter on the S. Marco column (Fig. 64).

The only possible Early Christian parallel to Prudentius' *Dittochaeum* in the use of the Flagellation is a glass paste cylinder with scenes in relief from the life of Christ, believed by Leclercq and Chabouillet to be earlier than the eighth century and to come from Mesopotamia (Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, III, 2, fig. 3475). The verse of the *Dittochaeum* reads:

"Vinctus in his Dominus stetit aedibus atque columpnae
Adnexus tergum dedit, ut servile, flagellis.
Perstat adhuc templumque gerit veneranda columpna
Nosque docet cunctis immunes vivere flagris."

The unique appearance of this episode in Prudentius' verse may perhaps be explained by a peculiar characteristic of the *Dittochaeum* itself. Baumstark (in *Byz. Zeit.*, 1911, pp. 177 ff.) has shown that a good quarter of the verses from both Testaments are strongly topographical, and parallel the accounts of pilgrims to the Holy Land with a sometimes striking similarity of verbiage. The column against which Christ was flogged was one of the standard sights of Christian Jerusalem, mentioned by no less a pilgrim than Jerome, and was an object of special veneration on Good Friday. The *Dittochaeum*, then, should be judged not simply as a direct illustration of the New Testament comparable to others stemming from the same manuscript prototype, but also to some extent as a guide book to the Palestine pilgrimage, choosing its subjects in accordance with a special, localized usage.

The Way to Calvary must be divided between those scenes which show Simon of Cyrene bearing the Cross, and those in which the burden is borne by Christ Himself. For the first, a unique Roman example is the Lateran sarcophagus cited above as illustrating the Crown of Thorns; here Simon and a soldier are the only figures in the scene (Lawrence, *fig. cit.*; Wilpert, *fig. cit.*). On a panel of the S. Sabina doors Simon bears the cross in a more narrative version which includes also Christ led to Calvary, on the right, and Pilate washing his hands, on the left (Fig. 50). The parallel to this fifth century version comes in the sixth, in the mosaic series of S. Apollinare Nuovo; here, however, the greater richness of the Ravennate cycle in general has led to the formation of two panels where S. Sabina had shown one only, and the Way to Calvary appears by itself (Fig. 70).

Christ bearing His own Cross is a feature of the British Museum "Passion casket" (Fig. 20). A suggestion deriving this exceptional treatment from the Homilies of Chrysostom as brought to Provence by his pupil Cassianus, has been made by Smith (*Art Studies*, '24, p. 97 f., fig. 7).

The Crucifixion, whose absence is so striking on the Brescia casket, appears on the British Museum "Passion casket," and on a door panel of S. Sabina (Fig. 52). Smith has noted the curious lapse in orthodoxy by which the London ivory shows the soldier piercing Christ's left side rather than His right, and has connected through the use of this detail, a small group of Irish and later Gallic monuments (Smith, *Art Studies*, '24, pp. 95 ff.). Prudentius, who includes the Crucifixion in his *Dittochaeum* series, there and in two other works describes blood and water as streaming from both sides of Christ; a unique detail which Smith has paralleled to a silver dish at Perm of the fifth or sixth century (*ibid.*, p. 96; Reil, J., *Die fröhchristl. Darstellungen der Kreuzigung Christi*, Leipzig, 1904, pl. 2).

Dittochaeum, verse 42:

"Traiectus per utrumque latus laticem atque cruentem Christus agit; sanguis victoria, lympha lavacrum est. Tunc duo discordant crucibus hinc inde latrones contiguis; negat ille Deum, fert iste coronam."

Cathemerinon, ix, 86:

"Hinc cruentis fluxit unda, lympha parte ex altera."

Peristephanon, viii, 15:

"Ipse locus est dominus, laterum cui vulnere utroque Hinc cruentis effusus fluxit, et inde latex . . ."

The Crucifixion is reconstructed by Merkle as an element of the full cycle of illustrations in Milan covered in part by the supposed tituli of Ambrose (in *Röm. Quart.*, X, p. 212).

The various scenes of the Risen Christ are almost uniform in pointing to a north Mediterranean focus of distribution. The earliest of all of these, the "Symbolic Resurrection" which shows two soldiers at the foot of a *labarum* or *tau* cross, is a creation of the "Asiatic" columnar

sarcophagi (Lawrence, *Columnar*, pp. 110 ff.). The scene at the Holy Sepulcher which is shown on the Trivulzio and Munich ivories (Figs. 16 and 37) and on the Milan Passion diptych, all from Smith's "Provençal" series, seems to have had an earlier parallel in a sarcophagus of Aix of columnar type, which today preserves only a figure seated in the doorway of the tomb (Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pl. 137/8). It appears on the sarcophagus of S. Celso in Milan, with the angel or Christ in the sky. A part of the Passion cycle of the S. Sabina doors (Wiegand, *op. cit.* pl. 9), the Ravenna mosaics (Fig. 71), and the S. Marco column (Fig. 64), it turns up, again, in the later fifth century Baptistry of Soter at Naples, which in its adjacent scenes of Cana and the Samaritan at the Well shows connections respectively with the east and with upper Italy (van Berchem, *Mos. chrét.*, pp. 105 ff., figs., 119-22; Smith, *Iconography*, p. 90; Arnason, *op. cit.*, p. 206 f.).

Without the angel, the version becomes that of the British Museum "Passion casket" (Fig. 20); with the women omitted, and the composition reduced to soldiers about the Sepulcher, the scene appears on the Milan Passion diptych and the Merovingian buckle of St. Césaire, both late links with Smith's series (*Art Studies*, '24, figs. 14 and 20). Some such representation as this is suggested by the *Dittochaeum*, with the first lines of verse 43:

"Christum non tenuit saxum, non claustra sepulcri."

The later episode described by Matthew xxviii, 9, in which the women leaving the Holy Sepulcher are met by Jesus Himself, entered Rome on a sarcophagus now lost. From preserved drawings, this must have been a product either of the city-gate or star-and-wreath ateliers. Here the two women kneel before Christ, who is at the right, and turning to address them (Lawrence *Columnar*, no. 60; Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, text II, fig. on p. 325). The Servannes sarcophagus repeats this scene with three women (Wilpert, *ibid.*, pl. 15). It appears again with two Marys on a door of S. Sabina (Wiegand, *op. cit.*, pl. 11) and on the Milan Passion diptych. The newly discovered casket at Ravenna combines the episode with that of Christ's Ascension (in *Felix Ravenna*, 1930, p. 2, pl. 5). A close connection with the east is provided by the version of the Rabula Gospels (Garrucci, III, pl. 139/1).

Perhaps this scene as well as that of Thomas' Doubting is included in the *Dittochaeum*'s final verse of 43:

"Seque dedit multis tactuque oculisque probandum."

Compositions which illustrate the Appearance of Christ to a varying number of Apostles occur on the Servannes sarcophagus (Wilpert, *fig. cit.*), on a panel of S. Sabina (Fig. 41), on the Milan Passion diptych, on the column of S. Marco (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 498/3), and in the Munich Codex Purpureus cited by Smith as continuing in manuscript the practices of his school (*Art Studies*, '24, p. 98 and note 68; Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, pl. 2/A).

The more specialized Appearance group which illustrates the Incredulity of Thomas has a similar distribution. Smith has noted the peculiar version of this scene which corresponds to the heterodox Crucifixion, and thus shows Thomas approaching Christ to touch a wound in His left side. This subdivision includes among the monuments associated with the "School of Provence" the British Museum "Passion casket" and the Codex Purpureus. At Ravenna it takes in a sarcophagus fragment (Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pl. 243/3) and a mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo (Fig. 72). The orthodox composition with Thomas at Christ's right appears on the sarcophagus of S. Celso in Milan (Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pl. 243/4-6) and enters Smith's series later with the Milan Passion diptych. The Doubting in general is suggested by the line of the *Dittochaeum* quoted above.

In the Ascension peculiar to the Latin west, "Christ,

who is beardless, is assisted by the Hand of God as He steps from a mountain to Heaven, while below Him are some of the apostles overcome by surprise" (Smith, *Art Studies*, '24, p. 94). This version appears on two Gallic sarcophagi at Clermont and Servannes (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 27/2, 15), on the Munich ivory of Smith's series (Smith, *ibid.*, fig. 5), in more elaborate form on the S. Sabina doors (Wiegand, *op. cit.*, pl. 14) and in clumsy combination with the two Marys on the Ravenna casket (in *Felix Ravenna*, 1930, p. 2, pl. 5). As a pendant to the typological Ascension of Elijah, it is supposed by Merkle to have formed part of the full cycle of the Ambrosian tituli (in *Röm. Quart.*, 1896, p. 211). It is surely this iconography which is described by verse 44 of the *Dittochaeum*, with its emphasis on the Mount:

"Montis oliviferi Christus de vertice sursum
Ad Patrem redit signans vestigia pacis."

Verse 43 of the *Dittochaeum*, from which the first and last lines have been quoted, merits attention as a whole.

"Christum non tenuit saxum non claustra sepulcri
Mors illi devicta jacet, calcavit abyssum
Sanctorum populus superas simul ivit ad oras
Seque dedit multis tactuque oculisque probandum."

Just as the first line suggests a scene at the Holy Sepulcher showing the open door, and the last an Appearance group like that at Ravenna, with the Apostles crowding around Christ, and Thomas stretching his hand towards the wound, the middle two lines furnish a clear description in brief of the Harrowing of Hell. This section of the cycle seems, then, to have had a tripartite division; further evidence of the fact is furnished by the corresponding verse from the Old Testament which apparently divides into three scenes the early activity of David (see above, p. 177 and note 105) and thus maintains the symmetry of the two series.

The single extant Early Christian parallel for this Harrowing is furnished by the column of S. Marco (Garrucci, VI, pl. 498/3). Here it is probably the awkward transfer of the pictorial prototype into a narrow columnar bay which has made Adam, rather than Christ, the one to trample on two infernal figures. It may further be noted that the *Dittochaeum* and the column follow the same sequence of events in this section; both show a Crucifixion with the two thieves (although the column substitutes a Lamb for the crucified Christ) and illustrate thereafter a scene at the Sepulcher, the Harrowing, an Appearance before the Apostles, and, finally, an Ascension.

EXCURSUS IV: OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION

This difficult problem can only be treated here in bare outline. It must be pointed out that the first age of historical illustration of the Bible in the west shows a greater familiarity with the scenes of the Old Testament than with those of the New. The pre-Constantinian period had perfected a narrow repertory in which the standard miracles of Christ had a dominant place; the character of this art was, however, so largely symbolic and self-sufficient as to suggest an origin independent of the illustrated text. The first clearly defined elaboration of this traditional repertory occurs in Latin sarcophagi of the early fourth century. While the normal frieze sarcophagus carries on the subject matter of the catacombs, the more elaborate double-register type uses its greater area to develop an entirely new series of scenes in addition to the old. Of these new subjects, unknown to the catacombs before the fourth century, or not known to such paintings at all, two are from the Gospels (Entry into Jerusalem, Pilate scene). One is from the story of Peter (Peter Teaching). Eight or nine are from the Old Testament or its Apocrypha (Moses Receiving the Law; Moses Removing his Sandals; Creation of Adam and Eve; Cain and Abel Presenting their Gifts;

Israelites Crossing the Red Sea; Miracle of the Quail; Susannah and the Elders; Daniel and the Babylonian Dragon; and probably Daniel's Judgment of the Elders. Cf. Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 169. The last mentioned subject is attached by Wilpert to a fresco of the Catacomb of S. Callisto; *Pitture*, pl. 86. The form here is unlike all other versions of the scene, however, and with equal cogency Cabrol's *Dictionnaire*, I, 1, col. 432, identifies it as a martyr before Nero.)

In the Brescia casket, toward the end of the fourth century, the relative importance of the two Testaments has been reversed. At the same time, the scenes of the Old, although presented in smaller scale and relegated to the minor friezes of the box, are far more numerous than those of the New. Where the latter testify to the slow development of a Passion cycle, the Old Testament subjects seem taken from a manuscript prototype of great pictorial richness, including subjects whose rarity suggests the most detailed illustration of the whole Biblical text (Cf. Kollwitz, *Lipsanotheka*, pp. 36 ff.).

A close parallel to the Brescia casket in the treatment of subject matter from the two Testaments seems to have been the decoration effected by Bishop Paulinus of Nola in the opening years of the fifth century. In the double basilica described by his writings, one of whose mosaics has already been discussed, the older and smaller (presumably the more sacred) was decorated with what must have been historical scenes from the Gospels; Paulinus mentions these without further detail in the phrase:

"quod nova in antiquis tectis, antiqua nova lex
pingitur . . ." (*Carm. Nat.*, x, p. 173 f.)

On the other hand, the large new basilica of S. Felix, erected by Paulinus himself, seems to have received a full complement of frescoes from the Old Testament. These comprised scenes from the Pentateuch, of which seven from Genesis alone are singled out for special description in tituli; further, the deeds of Joshua and perhaps a number of episodes from Judges and Kings with special mention of a scene from Ruth coming between (Steinmann, *Tituli*, pp. 1 ff.; Von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch*, pp. 13 ff.). The verse of Paulinus seems to mark not only the illustrative pre-ponderance of the Old Testament in his scheme, but also the comparative rarity of any such pictured wall decoration at the turn of the century:

"pingere sanctas raro more domos animantibus
ad simulatis." (*Carm. Nat.*, ix, p. 543)

The inference is reasonable that realistic or symbolic "adoration" schemes involving Christ have momentarily superseded the historical representations, which re-emerge in more and more detailed forms to parallel the "adorations" in popularity as the fifth century develops (see Arnason, *op. cit.*, *passim*). Sound evidence of a balance of the Two Testaments in parallel series of illustrations begins only with the opening of the fifth century. The *Dittochaeum* is the most striking early example of this device in the west; Merkle has reconstructed a similar system about the Ambrosian tituli, where the text itself is incomplete (in *Röm. Quart.*, 1896). A much less ambitious parallel series is given the titular church of Pammachius in Rome by Wilpert, in the same general period (*Mos. u. Mal.*, II, pp. 644 ff.).

For the east, roughly contemporary evidence is furnished by the letter of S. Nilus (d. c. 430) to the Eparch Olympiodorus, counseling the decoration of a nave with scenes from the two books on opposite sides. As Paulinus of Nola testifies to the infrequency of such Christian art around 400 in the west, S. Nilus adds a similar information by warning his friend to avoid the common error of covering the walls of the basilica with scenes of hunting and fishing, ornament in raised stucco, and endless small crosses (Garrucci, *Storia*, I, p. 493). Against this unanimity of period seems to stand the notice culled from Garrucci (*ibid.*, p. 443) by J. Reil (*Die altchristlichen Bildzyklen des Lebens*

Jesu, Leipzig, 1910, p. 58) to the effect that Epiphanius Monachus, who died in 403, speaks of an Achaean basilica whose erection was attributed to St. Andrew, with wall paintings from the Old and New Testaments. From the standpoint of the later fourth century, such a tradition would seem to prove a date for the frescoes in question at least two generations before the writer's own time, and plausibly earlier. Fortunately the solution of this critical dilemma is simple. The Epiphanius Monachus in whose apocryphal *Acts of S. Andrew* this statement appears (Migne, *Pat. Graec.*, CXX) was actually an obscure Byzantine of the eighth century or later, and as little credible as any other late hagiographer; the date of 403 given him by Reil belongs instead to the famous Epiphanius who was the anti-Origenist bishop of Salamis. The conclusion stands, then, that only at the end of the fourth century was the New Testament rich enough in illustrative material to allow a balance of its scenes against those of the old.

For the third century, evidence recently uncovered in the east has proved an extraordinary maturity of Old Testament illustration at a time when the specifically Christian art was interested in no more than the isolated symbol of faith. The Jewish synagogue at Dura-Europos can be dated accurately at the middle of the century; its walls are covered by series of scenes from the Pentateuch, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Esther*, *Job*, and *Ezekiel*, often disposed in historic sequence, and forming an ensemble far richer than any Christian until S. Maria Maggiore. The roughly contemporary Christian chapel in the same city shows a stage of illustration comparable to that of the catacombs.

Turning to stylistic evidence, it may be said that the constant use of a landscape setting which characterizes such survivals of antique Old Testament illustration (as the Quedlinburg *Itala*, the nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, the Vienna Genesis, the Rotulus of Joshua, the Paris Psalter, the Cotton Genesis, and the Octateuchs) suggests a formation of the pictorial type at a period still strongly Hellenistic, and in a region where such preoccupation with environment was habitual—perhaps even in Alexandria in the later centuries of the preparation of the Septuagint translation.

It is true that the frescoes of the Dura synagogue, which so far stand as the earliest important evidence of an Old Testament art, contain almost no landscape elements. Here, however, the factor of location is all important; the omission of all spatial realism, which might have been present in more Hellenistic prototypes, is precisely what one should expect of artists working in the strongly Asiatic environment of Mesopotamia. The habitual lack of any landscape, on the other hand, in such early Gospels as those of Rossano, Sinope, and Rabula, and the apocryphal cycle of the S. Maria Maggiore arch, suggests a formation of the New Testament types in an age no longer bound by the Hellenistic and Roman sense of space.

EXCURSUS V: ALLEGED PICTORIAL CYCLES OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

For the early existence of such cycles in the east, the classic citation is that of the Patriarch's letter of 836 to the Emperor Theophilus (Garrucci, I, p. 443; cf. Reil, *Bildzyklen*, p. 43 f.). Here it is stated that Constantine ordered the basilica at Bethlehem to be adorned with a full sequence of scenes from the life of the Savior, beginning with the Nativity and including the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the events thereafter, and the prodigies accomplished by the Apostles. The precarious quality of such evidence is clear. It was to the interest of the Iconophiles to claim as great antiquity and as august patronage as possible for the cult of images in their quarrel with the imperial party. Backed by such a motive, the ninth century garrulity of the letter stands in the most suspicious contrast to the complete

silence of fourth century writings; notably to the silence of Eusebius, who describes the sumptuous ornament of Palestinian churches with the greatest gusto, but mentions no pictorial decoration whatever, although in another section he speaks of paintings in Rome which showed Constantine reposing in his celestial mansion in Heaven (*Life*, IV, p. 69). The claim for the west has been most eloquently made by Wilpert, who denies the importance of any center except Rome in the early formation of Christian art, and who sees that art already established in a full maturity in Roman basilicas of the early fourth century. It will be valuable here to review his contentions, and to note precisely what facts can be adduced to support so radical a theory (*Vorrang der altchristl. Kunst Roms*, in *Zeit. f. kath. Theol.*, XLV, 1921, pp. 360 ff.; *Mos. u. Mal.*, I, pp. 1 ff.; pp. 184 ff.; pp. 376 ff.; II, pp. 1169 ff.).

Against Wilpert's assertion of the negligible part played by the "provinces" in the development of Christian illustration, stand for the west, the arguments put forward throughout this paper to establish the importance of the north Mediterranean area. For the east, the almost complete destruction of all monumental Early Christian art in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, has until very recently embarrassed the attempts to refute the Roman theory as regards a region supposed to be deficient in representational Christian art because of its domination by Semitic iconoclasm. A well-nigh perfect rebuttal is now available at Dura, however, where on the frontier of Hellenism a Jewish synagogue of the mid third century shows an Old Testament cycle richer than any Biblical decoration before the nave of S. Maria Maggiore, while the much simpler Christian chapel stands at least on a par with the catacombs of Rome in illustration of the Gospels. With such work possible on the Parthian border, there should no longer be the slightest hesitation with regards the lost Christian art of Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus.

The crux of Wilpert's theory, still, is not this denial of significance to "provincial" centers so much as a positive statement of the Roman position. In his view, by far the greatest impetus to the development of Christian art was given by Constantine himself in the buildings he erected at Rome, and in the great mosaic cycles of Christian illustration with which those buildings were adorned. The largest and most important of these was the Lateran basilica, from whose mosaics streamed a steady inspiration over the whole Christian empire. To substantiate the pre-eminence of the Lateran over all provincial centers of Christianity, Wilpert quotes the seventh century Pope Martin I, who asserted that it had been founded by the Emperor Constantine to be the first in the whole world; a statement whose historical accuracy may be conditioned by the fact that Martin's papal career included an excommunication of the heretical patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, and ended in his deposition and exile by the Emperor Constans II.

The Lateran once possessed two great fields of mosaic illustration: its apse and its nave. For the latter, the earliest evidence is of the late eighth century. At the seventh ecumenical council, in 787, the legate of Pope Hadrian referred to it as the work of Constantine and described the first pair of the series to right and left of the apse as Adam Driven from Eden, and the Good Thief Entering Paradise. The nave was completely destroyed in a great earthquake of 896, and was rebuilt a few years later by Pope Sergius III. At present the Lateran clearstory contains a seventeenth century cycle of reliefs in stucco. At its head stand the two scenes mentioned by Hadrian's legate, the scene of the Good Thief in the form of a Crucifixion with the three Crosses, Mary and John, and a mounted soldier (Valentini, A., *La Patriarcale Basilica Lateranense*, Rome, 1834, I, pl. 25). The other panels set against each other the Flood, and Christ's Baptism; Joseph Sold by His Brothers and Christ Betrayed by Judas; the Sacrifice of Isaac and

Christ Falling beneath His Cross; the Israelites Crossing the Red Sea and the Descent into Hell; Jonah Spewed Forth and the Ascension. Some of the scenes in this Baroque version, Wilpert notes, are so handled that the observer would find it hard to decide what their subject was if he did not know already what was being represented. Wilpert believes that the Baroque cycle must have faithfully replaced the medieval (or at least a portion of the medieval, since the Renaissance nave has room for six pairs of panels where the earlier may have had fifteen or seventeen; cf. plan in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, VIII, 2, opp. col. 1531-2). The medieval must have faithfully copied the cycle destroyed in 896. The legate of Hadrian must have spoken historically in attributing the panels of his day to Constantine four and a half centuries earlier; though his age was one whose knowledge of the past and particularly of the sainted emperor was elsewhere apt to shade off with something less than scientific accuracy into the clouds of pious fable. The whole relationship of Constantine to the Lateran is made suspect by the fantastic legend already current in the fifth century, and taken over by the *Vita Silvestri*, whereby the emperor vowed the basilica out of gratitude for his healing of leprosy by a baptism performed by Pope Silvester (Cabrol, VIII, 2, col. 1544). Wilpert, however, accepts the legate's word without question (although in the parallel case of the nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, he dismisses in favor of his own fourth century date their attribution by Pope Hadrian himself to the mid fifth. See above, note 120).

This for Wilpert, then, is the nave cycle of the Lateran, executed under Constantine and the earliest pictorial concordance of the two testaments. Its various episodes, when they appear later in other monuments—even much later—are according to him derived from the example of the greatest church of Christendom. In view of the fame ascribed by Wilpert to the Lateran mosaics, it is unfortunate that eight of the twelve subjects of the Baroque sequence never appear in Roman sarcophagus sculpture, or in the catacombs of the fourth century and later. The immediate vicinity of the greatest of all Early Christian illustrative cycles seems to have paid no attention to its example, but to have gone on repeating the timeworn repertory of earlier centuries; when the Betrayal, the Cross-Bearing, the Crucifixion, the Harrowing of Hell, and the Ascension make their entrance among extant monuments, they are found not in Rome but in the north.

No less importance for later Christian art in west and east alike is given by Wilpert to the mosaics of the Lateran apse (*Mos. u. Mal.*, I, pp. 189 ff.). This, he notes, was completely rebuilt at the end of the thirteenth century, when its mosaics were entrusted to Jacopo Torriti. The inscription of the then donor, Nicholas IV, expressly states, however, that of the former work the sacred countenance of Our Lord was replaced unaltered in that spot where it first miraculously appeared to the Roman people when the church was consecrated. This is for Wilpert evidence that the original mosaic was contemporaneous with the Lateran itself under Constantine. The tradition of the miraculous Face is to him all the more credible since it can be pushed back in time to a prayer of around the year 1000. Wilpert records several earlier notices with the explanation that these must refer simply to work on the base of the apse, rather than to the vault itself. By this he does away with an otherwise inconvenient citation of the *Liber Pontificalis* that Constantine decorated the "cameram basilicae" with five hundred crowns of gold, and with another that Leo (440-61) "fecit vero cameram in basilica Constantiniana." The same explanation, that the reference was meant simply to a gold dado replaced after the Gothic raid, accounts for an inscription seen in the apse before its destruction in the thirteenth century, which recorded the names of Felix, Consul in 428 to 430, and his wife as donors.

According to Wilpert, then, the original Lateran apse

was decorated not with thin gold plates as these notices would suggest, but by a monumental mosaic executed shortly after 315. This was unfortunately destroyed, but Wilpert invites us to believe that Torriti in all essentials adhered to his great model, and that such changes as he unwisely introduced are immediately obvious. In Rome of the early fourth century, then, at the very outset of Christian church art—in the period whose only preserved works are the delicate half-pagan decorations of small scale at the Mausoleum of Constantine—the Lateran apse achieved a composition of the most sophisticated monumentality. The great figures stand in a stark symmetry against the gold ground, three on either side of a radiant Cross; above it the miraculous Face is surrounded by seraphim; below, the animals drink from the Four Rivers of Paradise; and at the base of the Mount stands the Heavenly City. The two figures closest to the Cross are the Virgin and John the Baptist, forming with Christ, above, the essential elements of a Deesis (Wilpert, *Mos. u. Mal.*, I, p. 190, fig. 59). No such prominence is given again to Mary as a single standing figure until the seventh century apse of the Chapel of S. Venanzio in the Lateran baptistery, and no other mosaic attains such an abstract grandeur until the apse of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in the sixth. The parallel of Mary and John in a Deesis is not otherwise known until a fresco of the mid seventh in S. Maria Antiqua. Wilpert's extraordinary argument is epitomized, finally, by one casual statement that the type of cross used on Palestinian oil flasks imitates the great *Crux Gemmata* of the Lateran apse (*Mos. u. Mal.*, I, p. 199).

A source of historical illustration second only to the Lateran nave and exceeding it in extent is given by Wilpert in the nave cycle of Old St. Peter's (*Mos. u. Mal.*, I, pp. 376 ff.). Half of this is preserved in the accurate sixteenth century copy of Grimaldi, showing the triforium decorated with two registers of fresco panels. For these frescoes Wilpert accepts the date at the end of the ninth century. The *Liber Pontificalis* speaks only of a renovation of paintings at that time, however, so that, in Wilpert's estimation, Pope Formosus must simply have copied an earlier cycle. The date of the originals he derives from the fact that in a long series of Papal portraits which ran below the frescoes, Grimaldi in the sixteenth century saw every pope provided with a round nimbus except Liberius (352-66) whose halo had a square form. To Wilpert the St. Peter's cycle is thereafter "Liberian." By these means Rome at the mid fourth century acquires forty-four illustrations from each Testament. The Gospel cycle was recorded by Grimaldi in only fragmentary form. It contains, however, a Harrowing of Hell, with Christ bearing the long cross-staff which is absent from all early versions of the Anastasis, and becomes general only with the ninth century (*Mos. u. Mal.*, I, figs. 121 and 122). Two other panels show the Risen Christ appearing to the Apostles, a subject quite unknown to Roman sculpture and to the catacombs of the same or later date, and elsewhere found only in the north. Wilpert acknowledges a certain difficulty with the Crucifixion. Its monumental size, covering four normal panels, might, as he says, suggest a later addition (the earliest two Crucifixions, on the British Museum ivory and the S. Sabina doors, are given no especial prominence in scale). However, the recent discovery of the same arrangement at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, proves it in Wilpert's estimation to be original to the fourth century (*Mos. u. Mal.*, I, p. 385, pl. 255, pp. 932 ff.; Styger, P., in *Röm. Quart.*, XXIX, 1915, pp. 11 ff.). The reasoning by which Wilpert brings the frescoes of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina to bear upon his putative fourth century dating of the cycle of St. Peter's is dubious in the extreme. He links the frescoes of the church of S. Giovanni, executed in a full florescence of twelfth century style, provided with a dedicatory inscription of Pope Celestine III (1191-8), and thoroughly Byzantine in iconography, with a note of the *Liber Pon-*

tificalis that Hadrian I (772-95) "in omnibus novitur renovavit" the same church; and cites the discovery, in excavations of 1914-5, of an original marble dado beneath the present, which from its quality and execution seems to him a work of the fifth or sixth century. As with the Lateran and Old St. Peter's, the twelfth century is supposed to have faithfully replaced the arrangement and subjects of the eighth, and the eighth the arrangement and subjects of that dimly suspected basilica whose dado looks like work of the fifth or sixth century. The use at S. Giovanni of a crucifixion panel four times the size of the scenes surrounding it in the Gospel series is thus supposed to attest the same for the time of Pope Liberius, at the mid fourth. With this demonstration achieved, Wilpert proceeds to reconstruct the whole of the New Testament cycle of Old St. Peter's, shown only in part in Grimaldi's drawings. Forty-four panels must be filled; Rome possesses by Wilpert's statistic a cycle of almost sixty. The Liberian series around 360 thus emerges panel by panel, with any subject ever found in Rome throughout the medieval period (*Mos. u. Mal.*, I, p. 385 f.), with scenes familiar to Roman art from its earliest years, with the youth cycle which first turns up in the mid fifth century at S. Maria Maggiore, and with Passion subjects not found until the Carolingian period. Its cycle completed in such fashion, Old St. Peter's is presented as a brilliant witness to the energy of Christian art in Rome which began soon after Constantine's Edict of Tolerance.

One further cycle of major importance represents, by Wilpert's doctrine, Roman art of St. Peter's at the mid fourth century: a sequence of episodes from the life of St. Peter, executed in mosaic on the apse wall (*Mos. u. Mal.*, I, p. 367 f.). For this, the proof lies in a notice of Grimaldi, who found the scenes too ruined for separate identification. Wilpert, in paraphrasing the account, goes on to say that the accompanying inscription was in large measure ruined also, only the words, "Constantini Expiata Hostili Incursione" being still legible in the sixteenth century when Grimaldi and Maffeo Veglio read them. This looks like rather better evidence; actually, however, it owes its force to a complete misreading of Grimaldi's text. The latter expressly states that the four words given appeared not with the Petrine inscription, but on the tribune arch over the high altar:

"Apsidae conjunctus paries ad septentriones Clementis VIII pontificatu multis historis B. Petri musiveis, sed pene vetustate et imbre coecatis ornatus est. Constantini tempore hos ibi conscriptos versus affirmat Mapheus Veggius sic. Quorum caracteres longe vetusti peneque dixerim decreti nullum etiam aliud quam Constantini tempus, quo ibi conscripti sunt manifeste arguere videntur. Sunt in alio arcu absidæ super altare majus, aliae litteræ quæ negligenter habitæ majori ex parte corruerunt, sed ex paucis earum quæ vix adhuc legi possunt deprehenduntur, licet non integre, verba haec:

"Constantini expiata hostili incursione" . . ."

(Müntz, in *Rev. archéol.*, N. S. XXXIII, 1882, p. 146 f.). It is clear that Grimaldi's ascription of the St. Peter mosaics to a Constantinian date was based simply on the aged and

decrepit appearance of its almost illegible inscription: a criterion of no great value from the standpoint of scientific epigraphy.

Wilpert fills out the mosaics which Grimaldi could not distinguish from the repertory of "jenen Szenen . . . welche uns sonst aus der alten oder mittelalterlichen Kunst bekannt sind"; thus obtaining a respectable set of nine Acts of Peter, which thereafter stand as "den ältesten Zyklus von Bildern aus dem Leben des Lokalmartyrers" (*Mos. u. Mal.*, II, p. 951).

It is a highly individual conception of Christian illustration which lies behind the opinions outlined above. To Wilpert, iconography is not the living organism studied by Millet, Smith, and Reil, growing from century to century, moving from place to place, shifting its direction and combinations with the force of new ideas; it is, instead, a crystal, perfect and complete at the start, miraculously created in the city of Rome, and thereafter—with minor changes of detail and with a varying quality of execution—simply copied.

It is hardly necessary to protest in general against such a view of Christian iconography. As for the conclusions drawn from such a premise; if the theory of a great Christian illustrative art in Rome of the early fourth century can find no better support than a brief allusion at the end of the eighth, and a tradition which first appears around 1000, the fact that Grimaldi in the sixteenth saw a square halo on the ninth century portrait of Pope Liberius, and a misreading of Grimaldi's text—it may be rejected without hesitation. Not only is the evidence put forward for such a wealth of iconography at such an early date extremely hazardous and contradicted by more plausible evidence elsewhere, but the circumstances of the case suggest in themselves a contrary decision. Christian art in the age of Constantine had no monumental illustrative background except the limited and special experience of the catacombs. Extant remains of the period show an art thoroughly in keeping with such inexperience. At S. Costanza the annular aisle vaults are largely formal in their decoration, and if they use figures, show scenes from a purely secular repertory. If any credence may be placed in the drawings which purport to show the lost mosaic of the cupola (*Mos. u. Mal.*, pp. 298 ff., pl. 88) the illustrations of that field were at small scale and were separated by arabesques in classic style: the larger scenes if Christian at all were picked from an Old Testament cycle without any idea of interrelationship or sequence, and the lesser Gospel episodes were quite in the style of the catacombs.

It is historically incredible that a single generation should have solved the problem of the mosaic apse by a composition even remotely like Torriti's for the Lateran, or the problem of the nave by the tremendous parallel series of Old St. Peter's. The most damning circumstance of all, finally, is the complete lack of any reflection of these world-famous paintings and mosaics in the remaining fourth century art of Rome, in the catacombs, and in the scores of sarcophagi which continue the catacomb style, or emerge from it only by slow stages.

EARLY CHRISTIAN SILVER OF NORTH ITALY AND GAUL

By HJÖRVARÐUR HARVARD ÁRNASON*

THE EVIDENCE cited elsewhere in this issue of *THE ART BULLETIN* by Alexander Soper concerning the place of the north Mediterranean area in the history of Early Christian art may be materially increased by the consideration of a number of liturgical silver objects which can be assigned to north Italy or Gaul. The first of these to be treated, the silver gilt amula in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican (Fig. 1),¹ reproduces so closely the iconography of the casket from Pola that it must be related to it in provenance. The body of the amula displays three decorated registers that are divided by rope borders from blank intermediary spaces. The upper register contains a cross flanked on either side by two doves, and at the back behind the handle a column bearing the impost of an arcade. In the central band is a row of medallions containing a bust of Christ flanked on the right by busts of St. Peter, who faces Him, and of a beardless Apostle; and on the left by busts of St. Paul, also facing Him, and of a bearded Apostle. In the lower register the Lamb of God is approached from either side by two lambs.

These three "adoration" schemes link the amula to the Pola casket, while the representation of Christ and the Apostles as busts within medallions may suggest a relationship with the Brescia Lipsanotheca. The presence in the nimbus of Christ of the Constantinian monogram indicates a north Italian provenance for the amula,² and this is strengthened by a statistic on the distribution of the "adoration" schemes. With one or two exceptions which will be pointed out, the statistic was limited to certainly authentic objects dating before the year 700 A.D.; but in order that it might be as complete as possible, it was extended to all variants of the motifs. Thus, in the case of the doves and cross, rather than confine the investigation to examples of doves flanking a simple cross, it was felt necessary to include every instance obtainable of two or more doves grouped heraldically about or immediately surrounding either a cross or monogram. Under the term "monogram" were gathered not merely appearances of the Constantinian monogram with its diagonally-armed cross intersected vertically by a *rho*; but also the variations of this where the *rho* becomes a simple bar like the diagonals; and as well the cross-monogram where the vertical arm of an ordinary Latin cross forms a *rho*. The examples to be discussed were selected from several thousand occurrences of the dove in Early Christian art, and while further study will inevitably disclose instances other than those mentioned, it is extremely unlikely that enough of these will turn up to alter materially the proportional distribution of the heraldic scheme that is here outlined.

The appearances at Rome are significantly few. The catacombs show one instance each

* *Studies in the Art of the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library*, no. XXIV, edited by C. R. Morey and E. Baldwin Smith.

1. Museo Sacro, No. 708. Formerly in the Albani collection. The amula has never been thoroughly investigated. It is of cast silver, incised, and gilded. Its height is 18.5 cm., its diameter 5.7 cm., and the diameter of the base,

5.2 cm. The handle is riveted to the vase, and the foot may have been a separate piece, welded. The whole is badly oxidized, and cracked in several places. Amulæ (also known as cruets or burettes) are the small vessels that contain the water and wine for the Eucharistic chalice.

2. Soper, A., *The Italo-Gallic School of Early Christian Art*, in this issue of *THE ART BULLETIN*, p. 150 and note 16.

of a cross flanked by two doves³ and of a monogram flanked by two doves.⁴ The curious, rough-hewn cross with a dove on each side in the cemetery of Callixtus is so unparalleled in Early Christian art that it must either be doubted as a representation of the cross or regarded as an astonishing outbreak of originality. If it is accepted for the moment, the fact still remains that among hundreds of appearances of doves in the catacombs, among the many instances of doves flanking vases and figures or used singly as space fillers, the motifs under discussion occur but twice.

The only other monuments of Roman origin on which this particular heraldic grouping could be found are a number of stone epitaphs and inscribed tablets. However, from approximately six hundred of these showing doves either singly or flanking some object, only seventeen have the monogram in one of its forms flanked by two doves,⁵ and none has the cross flanked by doves.

Three out of thirty stone epitaphs with doves from Anagni,⁶ Capua,⁷ and Naples,⁸ in the south of Italy display the monogram flanked by two doves. Two examples found at Syracuse have Greek names though Latin inscriptions.⁹ Aside from these, one monument shows the cross and doves, and although now destroyed this is of considerable importance. The mosaic of the early fifth century that was in the apse of the church of S. Felix at Nola has been preserved in the description of S. Paulinus of Nola.¹⁰ Wickhoff has made perhaps the most accurate reconstruction from this description (Fig. 17).¹¹ The center of the mosaic contained a large, jeweled cross enclosed in three concentric circles. Within the two outer circles were twelve doves representing the Apostles, who completely surrounded the cross. The epistle of Paulinus is important not only in preserving a record of this remarkable mosaic, but also in giving a definite source for the assumption that the doves in these "adoration" schemes actually were intended to symbolize the Apostles.

Examples in the Greek east are scattered and sporadic. The basilica of Eski-djouma at Salonika, dating in the middle of the fifth century, shows in the mosaics of the narthex a monogram flanked by two doves, and a cross within a circle surrounded by four.¹² Doves flanking a cross are found in the relief stucco decoration of a tomb at Shefa 'Amr in Palestine;¹³ and the doves and monogram occur on an inscribed marble plaque in the monastery

3. Cemetery of Callixtus, Arcosolium of the Croce Velata, lunette. Probably the earliest notice of this is in De Rossi, G. B., *Roma sotterranea cristiana, descritta ed illustrata*, Rome, 1864-1877, III, p. 78, pls. 11 and 12. De Rossi illustrates without comment, as also does Wilpert, *Roma sotterranea: le pitture delle catacombe romane illustrate*, Rome, 1903, p. 552/21. All other comments follow one or the other of these two.

4. Cemetery of Pretextatus, Arcosolium of Celerina. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pl. 251.

5. The statistic here employed has been assembled from the Princeton Index of Christian Art. As a complete description of each of the numerous epitaphs and incised tablets to be mentioned would be pointless, references will be given briefly to the sources where they are mentioned or illustrated. In *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1864, pp. 11 ff.; *ibid.*, p. 75; *ibid.*, 1884-5, pp. 99 ff.; in *Nuovo Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1904, p. 110, no. 79; De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, pl. 30/40; De Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianaes urbis Romae, septimo saeculo antiquiores*, Rome, 1857-61, I, no. 594; *ibid.*, no. 666; *ibid.*, no. 937 (N. Ser. I, 1922, no. 943); *ibid.*, N. Ser. I, no. 3262; *ibid.*, Supplement, I, 1925, no. 1581; Marucchi, O., *I monumenti del Museo cristiano Pio-Lateranense*, Milan, 1910, pl. 58, nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; *ibid.*, pl. 49, no. 32; in *Römische Quartalschrift*, XXVI, 1912, p. 85, fig. 2. One other epitaph at Rome is not included in the above list because, having a Greek

inscription, it does not surely represent Roman work (De Rossi, *Inscr. chr.* N. Ser. I, no. 1396).

6. De Rossi, *Inscr. chr.*, I, no. 2607.

7. In *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1884-5, pp. 95 ff., pl. 4/1.

8. De Rossi, *Inscr. chr.*, N. Ser. I, no. 2867.

9. In *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1896, pp. 47 ff., no. 83/352.

10. *Epistolae*, XXXII, 10:

"Pleno coruscat Trinitas mysterio

Stat Christus agno, vox Patris coelo tonat,

Et per columbam Spiritus Sanctus fluit.

Crucem corona lucido cingit globo.

Cui coronae sunt corona Apostoli.

Quorum figura est in columbarum choro.

Pia Trinitas unitas Christo coit.

Habente et ipsa Trinitate insignia

Deum revelat vox paterna et Spiritus;

Sanctam fatentur crux et agnus victimam,

Regnum et triumphum purpura et palma indicant.

Petram superstat ipsa petra ecclesiae,

De qua sonori quatuor fontes meant,

Evangelistae viva Christi flumina."

11. In *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1889, p. 169, fig. 2.

12. Diehl, C., Le Tourneau, M., Saladin, H., *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique*, Paris, 1918, figs. 13, 26.

13. Fourth to fifth century. Cabrol, F., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, etc., Paris, 1907 et seq., III, 1, fig. 2750.

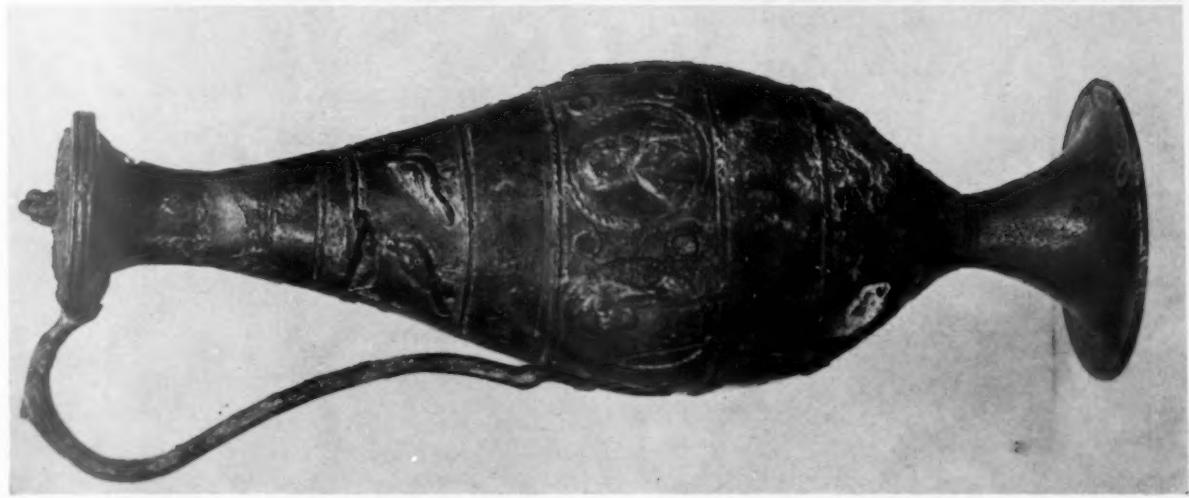


FIG. 1—*Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro: Silver Amula, c. 450-475 A.D.*

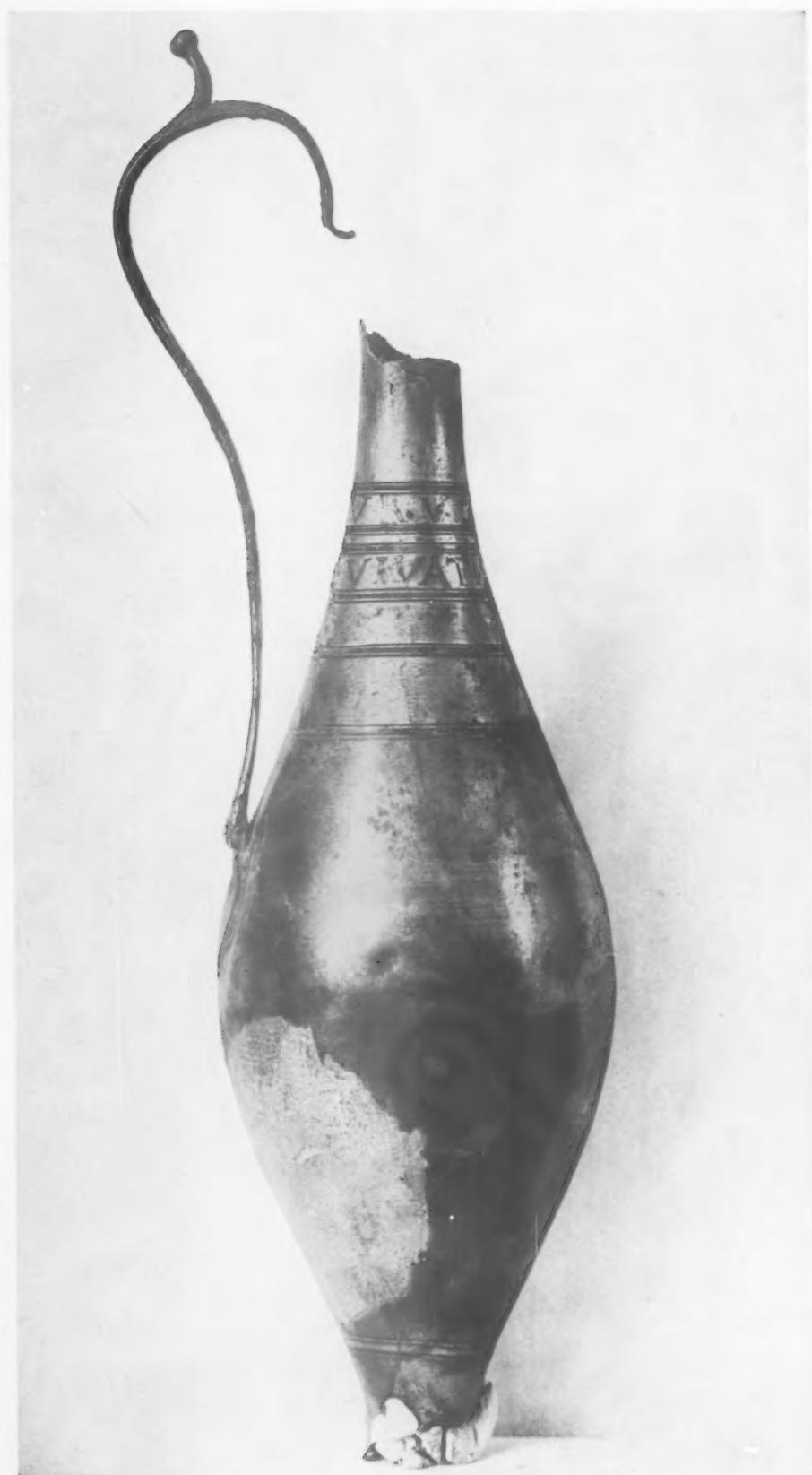


FIG. 2—*Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro: Silver Vase, 5th Century A.D.*

church at Etschmiadzin.¹⁴ A fragment of a stone cross from Egypt¹⁵ has a dove perched on each arm in somewhat the manner of the "symbolic Resurrections"¹⁶ on columnar sarcophagi. A bone plaque from Cairo has the doves and cross worked into a decorative pattern,¹⁷ and a fine ivory plaque at Moscow of possible Alexandrian workmanship shows two doves flanking a splayed cross.¹⁸

In north Africa, west of Egypt, the motif enjoyed a considerable popularity. A well-preserved mosaic sarcophagus from Bir-el-Djebbana near Carthage¹⁹ and a fragmentary mosaic epitaph from Carthage²⁰ both show a cross flanked by doves. Two other mosaic fragments²¹ as well as a grave slab²² have the monogram and doves. The mosaic epitaph of Baleria from Monacor on the island of Mallorca is decorated with cross and doves and undoubtedly belongs in the north African group.²³ These mosaics and the cross fragment with doves on the arms, mentioned above, show a specific north African variation in which the bodies of the doves face away from, and their heads turn back towards the central cross or monogram. An impost block from Kasr-Bou-Hallou,²⁴ and eight capitals from a basilica at Tizgirt²⁵ show monograms flanked by two doves. These occur again on seven epitaphs and incised tablets.²⁶ Among approximately two hundred terra cotta lamps and vessels ascribed to north African manufacture on which doves appear, fourteen show the doves in conjunction with a Latin cross, and twenty-two with the monogram.²⁷ In most cases in which the cross or monogram is found in conjunction with a group of doves, the doves may safely be assumed to represent the Apostles, but this cannot be said with any certainty of these terra cotta objects. As their decoration was done with a stamp, the repetition of a popular motif such as the dove might well have a significance of economy rather than of symbolism. The fact that groups of doves occur in the same way whether the central object is a cross, a vase, or a figure confirms this absence of symbolic meaning.

Among fourteen stone epitaphs from Spain on which doves appear, twelve—a remarkably high proportion—show the monogram flanked by doves.²⁸ Although existing information on Early Christian Spanish inscriptions is inadequate, there is indicated an unusual popularity of the motif.²⁹

This popularity asserts itself convincingly in the north of Italy and in Gaul. Of ap-

14. *Ibid.*, II, 2, col. 2670, 2, fig. 2220.

15. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Sixth to seventh century Coptic work from Luxor. Wulff, O., *Berlin, Kgl. Museen, Beschreibung der Bildwerke, etc.*, 1909, I, p. 44/108.

16. The term "symbolic Resurrection" is used to describe a common decorative form employed on the center of a long side of columnar sarcophagi. It consists of a large, jeweled cross, on top of which is a monogram. On each horizontal arm of the cross is perched a dove, and under the arms are the two sleeping soldiers who explain the significance of the type as alluding to the Resurrection.

17. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Fifth to sixth century. Wulff, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 19/439.

18. Moscow, Uvaroff collection. Sixth to seventh century? Cabrol, *op. cit.*, I, 2, col. 2266; photo in Index of Christian Art. To these may be added a terra cotta stopper of the fifth to sixth century from Egypt, now in the Staatliche Museen at Berlin, on which appears a monogram flanked by birds (Wulff, *op. cit.*, I, fig. on p. 278/1447).

19. Tomb of Theodora, fourth century, now in the Mus. Lavigerie at Carthage. Cabrol, II, 2, col. 2322, fig. 2135.

20. Epitaph of Redemta, present location unknown. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VIII, no. 25152.

21. Carthage, Mus. Lavigerie. Cabrol, II, 2, fig. 2146. Tunis, Mus. Alaoui, sixth to seventh century, from pave-

ment of convent of Dermach near Carthage. *C. I. L.*, VIII, no. 25026.

22. Grave slab of Aurelia, Sfax Museum, fourth century. *C. I. L.*, VIII, no. 22835.

23. In *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1914, p. 135, fig. 17.

24. Cabrol, III, 2, fig. 3313.

25. Gavault, P., *Études sur les ruines romaines de Tizgirt*, Paris, 1897, fig. on p. 32.

26. In *American Journal of Archeology*, 1923, p. 108; Cabrol, I, 1, col. 623, fig. 112; *ibid.*, III, 2, col. 2229, note 15; *C. I. L.*, VIII, nos. 2097, 2098, 11900, 17609, 23575, 25123.

27. Delattre, A. L., in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1891-93, gives the most complete corpus of these lamps. They are not sufficiently important to the present problem to deserve a complete listing. The figures quoted may be checked in the Princeton Index of Christian Art.

28. In *Nuovo Bull. arch. crist.* 1907, p. 247; Hübner, E., *Corpus Inscriptionum Hispaniae Christianarum*, Berlin, 1871, nos. 35, 72, 95, 102, 103, 180; Cabrol, III, 2, col. 1762; Madrid, Mus. Arqueológico, nos. 59, 83, 564, from unpublished notes of G. B. Hollis of the Princeton Index of Christian Art.

29. On the sarcophagus fragment of Itacius at Oviedo Cathedral, the doves are rather flanking the vase than the monogram, *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, Madrid, 1925, I, pl. preceding p. 205.

proximately one hundred and seventy-five epitaphs and inscribed stones principally of Gallic origin having doves, ninety-seven have the monogram flanked by doves,³⁰ and seven have cross and doves.³¹ Both cross and doves and monogram and doves occur on the so-called reading desk of Ste. Radegonde at Poitiers.³² Monogram and doves are found on a relief at Trier,³³ an altar at Vaison,³⁴ and a coffin at Antigny,³⁵ while cross and doves occur on a relief in a church at St. Peter im Holz in Switzerland,³⁶ and on a late Gallic sarcophagus at Saulieu.³⁷ In the latter instance where the doves are poised above the arms of a large cross, there may be a perpetuation of the "symbolic Resurrection" of the columnar sarcophagi. Twenty-six sarcophagi on which this scene appears or can be reconstructed have been found, and twenty of these Marion Lawrence has shown to be of north Italian or Gallic manufacture.³⁸ Twenty-one more examples from Gaul and north Italy have the monogram flanked by doves,³⁹ and five more from Ravenna show cross and doves.⁴⁰ The motifs are simply unknown on purely Roman sarcophagi.

At Parenzo the cross and doves occur on the tabernacle of the Eufrasian basilica,⁴¹ on the font of the baptistery,⁴² and in a modified form on capitals of the cathedral.⁴³ The cathedral also contains a relief with the curious variation of a cross flanked by peacocks with doves perched on their backs.⁴⁴

A mosaic of the baptistery at Albenga has twelve doves surrounding a monogram repeated three times in concentric circles (Fig. 37).⁴⁵ Here the doves obviously represent the Apostles as they did at Nola. Finally, in the mosaics of the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, the motif of cross flanked by two doves is repeated twenty-eight times around the top of the clerestory.⁴⁶

Of doves in horizontal rows approaching from both sides a cross or monogram, there could be found aside from the Pola casket and the silver amula under discussion only four sure examples. These were four altar tables from the south of France. On the side of one at S. Germain-en-Laye, twelve doves approach, in two rows of six, a central cross flanked by *alpha* and *omega*.⁴⁷ The other three, at Aix-en-Provence⁴⁸ and Marseilles (Fig. 31),⁴⁹ have monograms between the doves.

30. As these are too numerous to list in full, only the most accessible are included. The statistic was obtained from the Princeton Index of Christian Art. *C. I. L.*, V, nos. 1663, 1713; XI, no. 5926; XII, nos. 960, 2115, 2116, 5410; XIII, nos. 1184, 1547, 2354, 2359, 2408, 2473, 3052, 3789, 3792, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3804, 3817, 3822, 3825, 3826, 3832, 3843, 3846, 3855, 3877, 3903, 3905, 3920, 4234, 6257, 6258, 6259, 7602, 7604, 7642, 7644, 7645, 7646, 7558, 8486, 8487, 11213, 11214, 11912, 11929, 11930.

31. Cabrol, III, 2, col. 1688, fig. 2971; *C. I. L.*, IX, no. 5347; XII, no. 2662; LeBlant, E., *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1856-65, I, pls. 4/12, 31/191, 37/227; II, pl. 85/506.

32. Convent of Ste. Croix, sixth century. Cahier, C., *Mélanges d'archéologie, etc.*, Paris, 1847-56, III, pl. 159.

33. Trier Museum. LeBlant, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 33/205.

34. Musée de l'art chrétien, fifth century? Cf. in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1861, p. 370 f.

35. Antigny, cemetery, sixth century. Cabrol, II, 2, col. 3275, fig. 2353.

36. Granite architrave, fifth to sixth century. In *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912, pp. 110 ff.

37. Sarcophagus of S. Andoche, church of S. Andoche, fifth to sixth century. LeBlant, E., *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, Paris, 1886, pp. 2 ff., figs. p. 3.

38. Lawrence, M., *Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, pp. 103 ff., nos. 2, 3, 4, 16, 23, 26, 28, 59, 60, 61, 71, 72, 79, 90, 92, 93, 94, 175, fig. 8; LeBlant, *op. cit.*, p. 66; Wilpert, J., *I sarcofagi cristiani*

antichi, Rome, 1929-32, pls. 123/1, 145/7, 217/7, 238/6, 7.

39. *C. I. L.*, III, no. 14315/1; V, no. 1712; XIII, nos. 2419, 3520, 3810, 11032; Garrucci, R., *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, Prato, 1881, V, pls. 345/2-3, 393/1-3, 401/3; LeBlant, *op. cit.*, fig. on p. 58, pl. 1/1, p. 53, no. 72, pl. 6/2; Dutschke, H., *Ravennatische Studien*, Leipzig, 1909, figs. 29/b, c, 30/a, b, c, d; in *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1910, p. 187; Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pl. 73/1; Lawrence, M., *City-gate Sarcophagi*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, X, p. 4, figs. 2, 3.

40. Dutschke, *op. cit.*, figs. 28/d, 35/b; Garrucci, V, pls. 345/3, 4, 347/3, 4, 356/1.

41. Garrucci, VI, pl. 408/8.

42. Cabrol, II, 1, col. 430.

43. Garrucci, VI, pl. 408/6.

44. Unpublished notes of G. B. Hollis of the Princeton Index of Christian Art.

45. Second half of the fifth century. Wilpert, J., *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, Freiburg, 1916, III, pl. 88/1.

46. Garrucci, IV, pl. 244/1.

47. Cabrol, III, 2, figs. 3443, 3444.

48. Braun, J., *Der christliche Altar*, Munich, 1924, I, pl. 41.

49. Garrucci, VI, pl. 423/1; Cabrol, I, 2, fig. 1120. Another altar table at Cavaillon cathedral, of seventh or eighth century date, shows a decorative rather than a symbolic variation of the motif, cf., in *Bulletin archéologique*, 1910, pl. 2.



FIG. 3—*Silver Vase,
Now Lost, Formerly
in the Bianchini
Collection
(Drawing)*



FIG. 4—*Venice, St. Mark's: Architrave, Detail of
Miracle at Cana*



FIG. 5—*Civita Castellana:
Sarcophagus, Detail of
Miracle at Cana*



FIG. 6—*Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Ivory
Panel, Detail of Miracle at Cana*



FIG. 7—London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Ivory Diptych, Detail of Miracle at Cana



FIG. 8—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Gold Medallion



FIG. 9—Naples, S. Giovanni in Fonte: Mosaic, Miracle at Cana

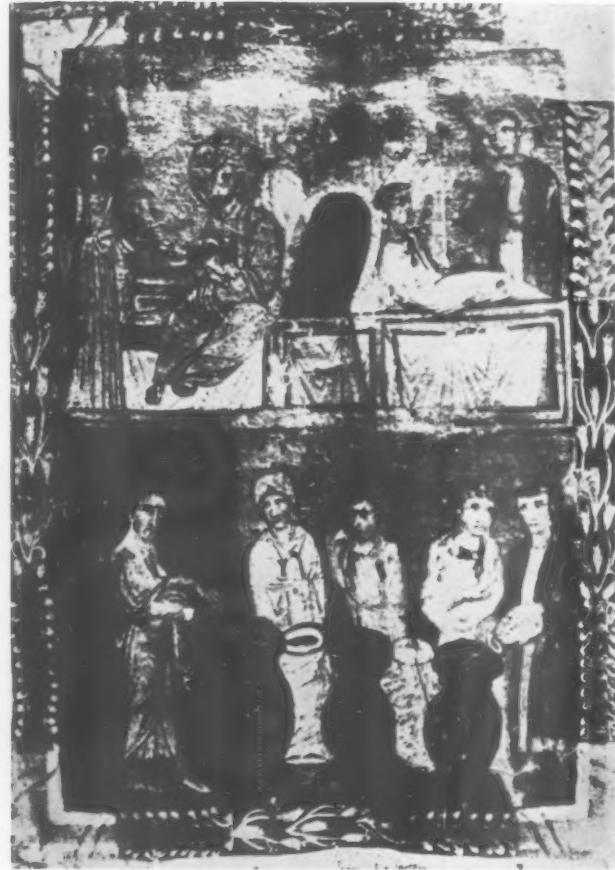


FIG. 10—Leningrad, Hermitage: Codex Greek 21, Miracle at Cana

The above statistical survey⁵⁰ leads to inevitable conclusions. Whatever the origin of the "adoration" scheme of cross or monogram flanked by doves, it was certainly not Roman. The possibility of an origin in the east may be entertained, though the almost complete absence of examples militates against it. Certainly in the fifth and sixth centuries its greatest popularity was in north Italy and Gaul, and from there it probably spread to Spain, most of whose epitaphs are of the sixth century, later than the average from Gaul. The sporadic and minor appearances at Rome and in the south of Italy can represent influences from the north. The mosaic at Nola is the only monument in the south that might seem difficult to explain, and its isolated character may quite possibly indicate northern workmen. This supposition is strengthened by the fact of Paulinus's relations rather with the churches of north Italy, Gaul, and Spain than with that of Rome.⁵¹ The three Egyptian objects are of sixth and seventh century date, and only show the spread of the motif. On the other hand, the popularity of the scheme in the north African provinces suggests a relationship between north Italy, Gaul, and north Africa that deserves further study.⁵²

While the monogram flanked by doves finds its greatest popularity in the Gallic epitaphs, the cross flanked by doves is most general in north Italy.

The representations of Christ with the Apostles and Christ with only Peter and Paul are so numerous, so widespread, and so standardized in early Christian art that any attempt to differentiate types is not easy. However, certain trends and developments are apparent. The earliest portrayals of Christ, found in the catacombs or on Latin frieze sarcophagi, showed Him either in the guise of the Good Shepherd or in the act of performing one of His miracles. After the official establishment of Christianity, there appeared together with the increasingly complete Miracle and Passion cycles, more and more portrayals of Him as a hieratic figure to be adored in Himself. This conception of Christ, which arose undoubtedly in the east, found its most frequent western expression in the columnar sarcophagi of north Italy and Gaul, whose "Asiatic" origin almost required of them a central composition. So the person of Christ centrally dominating His twelve Apostles—or giving the law to Peter and Paul, who approach Him adoringly from either side—became one of the most popular ways of decorating these works.⁵³

The occurrences at Rome of Christ with Peter and Paul, or Christ with the Apostles were frequent in the catacombs and church mosaics, though not on Latin frieze sarcophagi. The Roman tradition continued to be that of the full-length Christ and Apostles throughout the entire course of Early Christian art. The only western parallels for the abbreviated version of the amula are in monuments of north Italian or Gallic provenance.⁵⁴

50. Examples of monograms flanked by doves were also found on a few objects such as gems which were not listed because of the complete uncertainty of their provenance.

51. Paulinus was born at Bordeaux, educated in Gaul, and for a time was governor of Campania. He was baptized in Gaul and ordained bishop in Barcelona. About 395 he went to Nola, on his way there being well received at Milan by Bishop Ambrose and coolly treated at Rome by the pope. In 409 he was chosen bishop of Nola; and from that time on most of his contacts continued to be with the churches of north Italy and Gaul, cf. Baring-Gould, S., *The Lives of the Saints*, Edinburgh, 1914, V, p. 304 f.

52. It is well-known that St. Augustine was a disciple of St. Ambrose of Milan. The implications of this fact, as well as the place of St. Ambrose in the development of the north Mediterranean area, are now the subjects of a study by the present writer that it is hoped will clarify the

religious background of the artistic preëminence of north Italy and Gaul.

53. Lawrence, *City-gate Sarcophagi*, p. 24 f.

54. The now destroyed mosaic in the church of S. Sabina in Rome, the Brescia Lipsanotheca, the oblong reliquary from Grado, the pyxis from Pola, are the only western objects dating before the sixth century other than the amula in the Museo Sacro that embody the abbreviated form. The article of Soper and the present article suggest a north Mediterranean provenance for all of these. In the sixth century mosaics of Ravenna we find the medallion a frequent formula of decoration, particularly in the church of S. Vitale, in which Christ and Apostles appear as busts in medallions.

Christ and Apostles depicted as busts within medallions appear as well: on the vase from Emesa, now in the Louvre; on the reliquary casket in Leningrad; on a reliquary in the

The third "adoration" scheme of the amula, that of lambs (representing the Apostles) flanking the Lamb of God, presents, though the examples are fewer, a more complex problem than that of the doves and cross, and deserves to be studied in at least as much detail. A number of variants and related scenes will first be discussed.

The scenes in the church of S. Costanza and on the Pola casket lid, in which four lambs flank a central Christ standing on the Mount, have been noted by Soper;⁵⁵ of these two, the Pola lid, where the lambs emerge directly from the Holy Cities, is the closer to the amula as well as to similar scenes on columnar sarcophagi. A sarcophagus in the Lateran at Rome in which a central Good Shepherd is flanked by Apostles and by lambs representing the Apostles is so clearly a combination of "Asiatic" and Roman frieze formulae that it is of little value in indicating provenance.⁵⁶ Four sarcophagus covers of Gallic origin show lambs approaching some central object other than a Lamb of God;⁵⁷ and two reliefs of processional lambs at Salona in Dalmatia⁵⁸ and at Venice⁵⁹ are of interest in that the lambs are accompanied by inscriptions indicating their Apostolic symbolism. Nine "Asiatic" sarcophagi show Christ and the Apostles with the Lamb of God, and three of these have other lambs as well.⁶⁰ In the apsidal arch of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, lambs emerge from the Holy Cities and approach a central medallion of Christ (Fig. 19).⁶¹ Other variants are seen: in a Ravennate mosaic at Berlin⁶² where doves flank a Lamb of God; on a Gallic relief at Vienne⁶³ where a Lamb is flanked by doves; and on a gem of unknown provenance⁶⁴ where the Lamb of God, standing on an altar, is flanked by both doves and lambs.

The exact form of the amula, in which the Lamb of God is flanked by two or more lambs, is found on the already mentioned altar table at Marseilles (Fig. 31),⁶⁵ on the city-

Museo Sacro of the Vatican; and on the silver censer from Cyprus, in the British Museum. The dating and provenance of these are still in process of investigation, but it may be stated with some certainty that all belong in the Greek east.

The possibility may be suggested that the abbreviated version appeared first as a result of exigencies of space on small objects and, becoming popular, spread to mosaic. The formula appears frequently in both east and west in later Byzantine art (cf. Soper, *op. cit.* p. 170 and note 91).

55. Soper, *op. cit.* p. 154 f. and notes 23, 24.

56. Garrucci, V, pl. 304/4.

57. *Ibid.*, pls. 342/1, 386/1; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 251/3, 31/6. The last named is a fragment in the Terme Museum showing only two lambs with a palm between them. Under the rear lamb is the inscribed name, *Johani-sevan*, while under the front lamb remain the last two letters, *us*, of a name. Wilpert reconstructs the fragment as two lambs flanking a central Lamb of God, places two on the other side, and assumes the four to be the four Evangelists. If this reconstruction is correct, the four lambs flanking the Lamb of God on the amula, as well as on the Pola casket and other works could be interpreted as Evangelists rather than Apostles. However, serious objections can be raised both to Wilpert's reconstruction and to his interpretation. In the first place, there is a strong probability that the names are much later in date than the sarcophagus itself. If they are contemporary, we are still not certain how many lambs there were on the frieze. There may have been two on either side of the center, but there may as well have been three. By the fourth century the symbols of angel, ox, lion, and eagle for the Evangelists had been established in the west. Even when used in conjunction with the Lamb of God the symbolism remains this, as the Milan bookcovers and the reading desk of Ste. Radegonde show. If Wilpert is right, we should have two quite divorced groups

of symbols for the Evangelists, something unique in Early Christian art. So what is much more probable is that the names refer simply to the Apostles, and that we have here another one of our normal Apostolic "adoration" schemes. If there is actually a Lamb of God in the center of the group—which is perfectly possible—the fragment is another bit of evidence for the northern predominance of the "adoration" motif.

58. Museum, before 700; six lambs representing the Apostles below an inscription giving the names of the twelve Apostles. In *C. I. L.*, III, no. 9625.

59. Seventh century (?), S. Marco; twelve lambs with a Greek inscription. In *Bull. arch. crist.* 1875, p. 144.

60. Aix-en-Provence, Hospital (LeBlant, *Sarc. Gaule*, pl. 52/2); Arles, Mus. Lapidare (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 12/4); Marseilles, Mus. d'archéologie (*ibid.*, pl. 34/2); Milan, S. Ambrogio (*ibid.*, pl. 188/2, back of sarcophagus); Rome, S. Paolo f. l. m. (*ibid.*, pl. 17/1); Rome, S. Sebastiano, Museum (*ibid.*, pl. 149); Rome, Lateran Museum (Lawrence, *City-gate Sarcophagi*, fig. 25, now in fragments); Rome, S. Peter's, Crypt (Wilpert, pl. 39/1); Saint-Maximin Church of Ste. Madeleine, Crypt (*ibid.*, pl. 39/2).

61. Anthony, E. W., *A History of Mosaics*, Boston, 1935, pl. 20. Below the arch, in the apse itself, lambs flank a great jeweled cross, and twelve lambs flank the orant figure of S. Apollinaris, which probably replaced an earlier *Agnus Dei* on the Mount. This elaborate triple scheme at Ravenna is one of the most convincing bits of evidence for the popularity of these symbolic "adorations" in the north.

62. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, sixth century, from S. Michele in Africisco, Ravenna. Wulff, *Altchr. Bildw.*, III, Supp., fig. 2282.

63. Vienne, house in the Place Hôtel de Ville; before 700. LeBlant, *Sarc. Gaule*, p. 22, no. 25.

64. Garrucci, VI, pl. 477/16.

65. *Ibid.*, pl. 423/2.



FIG. 12—Rome, S. Pietro in Vincoli: Sarcophagus, Detail

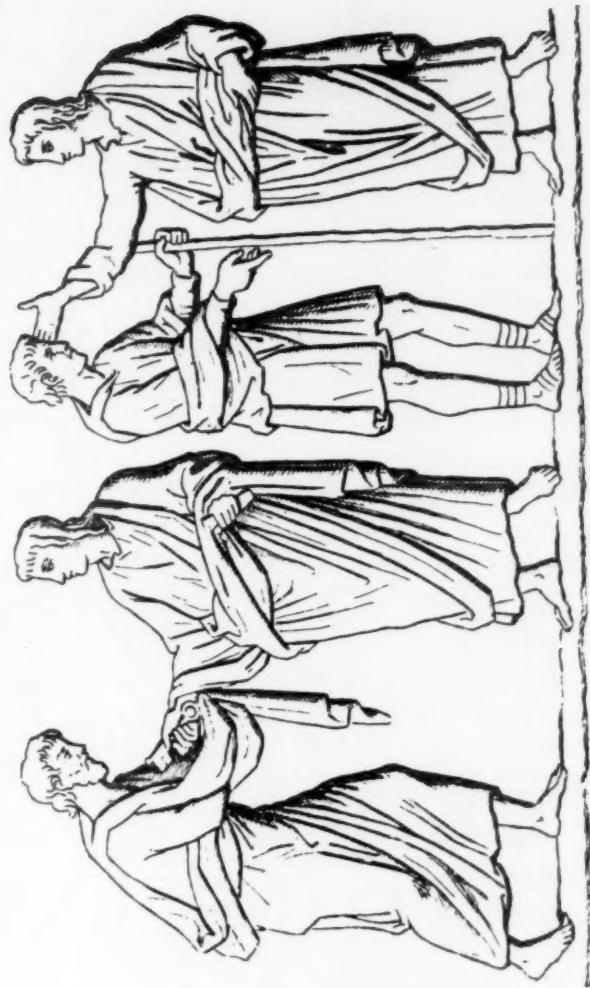


FIG. 13—Drawing of the Silver Amula of Fig. 11, Deployed

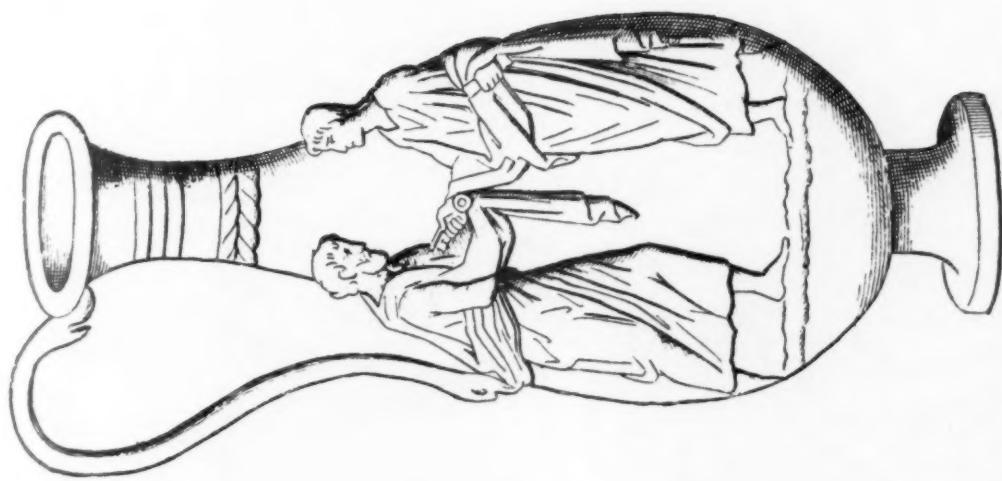


FIG. 11—Silver Amula, Now Lost,
Formerly in the Srozzzi
Collection (Drawing)

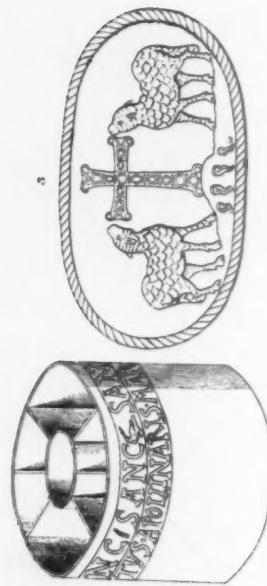


FIG. 15—Left: Circular Silver
Reliquary, Side
Right: Oblong Silver Reliquary, Top
(Drawing)



FIG. 16—Oblong Silver Reliquary, Back
(Drawing)



FIG. 14—Oblong Silver Reliquary, Front

Grado: *S. Eutemio*

gate sarcophagus at Milan,⁶⁶ and on a tree sarcophagus at Ravenna.⁶⁷ These show the closest parallels to the scene on the amula. The columnar sarcophagus formula of Christ on the Mount flanked by Peter and Paul (Peter bearing the cross), with the Apostles as lambs converging from the Holy Cities on the central Lamb of God, below, is copied in a relief at Anagni,⁶⁸ in a fresco at Grottaferrata,⁶⁹ and in a gold glass vessel at Rome.⁷⁰ The imitation on these is so clear that they may all be listed as derivative from north Italian or Gallic works. Processions of lambs approaching the Lamb of God may also be noted: in the mosaic at Nola already discussed;⁷¹ on the silver capsella in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican; in the highly Ravennate compositions at Rome in the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian,⁷² and in the chapel of S. Felicitas,⁷³ the last two both of sixth century date. A Ravennate sarcophagus shows the Lamb of God on the Mount of the Rivers, flanked by two lambs.⁷⁴ This formula is repeated without the Mount on an architrave in the cathedral of Salona,⁷⁵ in a badly ruined fresco in the cemetery of Pamphilus at Rome,⁷⁶ and on an ivory fragment of unknown provenance, at Rome.⁷⁷ Finally, a sarcophagus cover at Spalato in Dalmatia shows a Lamb of God flanked by six lambs, and bears as well inscribed names of Apostles.⁷⁸

The evidence for the "adoration" scheme with the lambs points like the other "adorations" on the amula to a provenance in the north Mediterranean area of the west. The only exact parallels are to be found in this region, and, of related scenes, by far the largest number of good examples are north Italian and Gallic.⁷⁹

The accumulation of iconographic evidence indicates the north of Italy and possibly Ravenna as the source of the amula. A stylistic analysis, which may best be deferred until all the silver objects to be discussed can be treated together, will help to confirm this provenance. A narrow date for the amula cannot be given, but it seems to lie within the limits of the fifth century, and its affinities are rather with monuments of the latter part than the earlier.⁸⁰

* * *

An object that groups itself naturally on basis of shape and style with the amula of the Museo Sacro is the silver vase formerly in the Bianchini collection at Rome. This vase has vanished entirely, leaving as an only record of its existence the drawing of one

66. Milan, Church of S. Ambrogio. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 188/1.

67. Ravenna, Museum, fragmentary. Wilpert's reconstruction, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 154/1.

68. Anagni, Church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian. Garrucci, VI, pl. 484/14.

69. Grottaferrata, Cemetery, Arcosolium. Wilpert, *Mosaiken*, IV, pl. 132.

70. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Museo Sacro. Garrucci, III, pl. 180/6.

71. See Fig. 17, and above, p. 194 and notes 10, 11, 51.

72. Wilpert, *Mosaiken*, III, pl. 102.

73. In *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1884, pls. 11, 12. The appearance of the scheme formerly in Old St. Peter's is of too indefinite a date to be cited (Wilpert, *Mosaiken*, I, p. 361, fig. 114; cf. Soper, *excursus v*). Apparently the motifs became increasingly popular in later centuries. A particularly interesting collection of these "adoration" schemes is in the apse of the upper church of S. Clemente in Rome. Here, the twelfth century Byzantine mosaic displays a bust of Christ within a medallion and flanked by the Four Beasts on the arch at the top. In the center of the apse, the arms

of the cross on which Christ hangs are filled with doves. Below, processions of lambs adore a central Lamb of God (Cabrol, III, 2, fig. 3030).

74. Sarcophagus of Constantius, Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. Dutschke, *op. cit.*, fig. 1/a, b.

75. Salona, Cathedral; fifth century. In *N. Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1902, p. 134.

76. In *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 1926, p. 189, fig. 75.

77. Stuhlfauth, G., *Die altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*, Freiburg i. B., 1896, pl. 2/2.

78. Spalato, Arheolski Museum, fifth to sixth century. Cabrol, I, 1, fig. 206.

79. A good case could also be made for the particular northern emphasis on the Lamb of God as an object of special veneration. By far the greatest number of extant occurrences of the Lamb of God by Himself, centering some composition or other, are in northern monuments; notably Ravennate sarcophagi and mosaics, the Milan bookcovers, the reading desk of Ste. Radegonde, etc.

80. See below, p. 224 for discussion of date.

side published by Garrucci (Fig. 3).⁸¹ The drawing shows three registers divided by rope borders identical with those on the amula in the Museo Sacro. The upper register is filled with an upright, overlapping leaf ornament. The central and most important register contains a Miracle at Cana with Christ and a single servant. A pillar divides this scene from another of which is visible only the repeated figure of Christ.⁸² The bottom register displays lambs emerging from a city and probably converging on some central object of adoration.

The only hope of finding a provenance for the vase by iconographic means lies in the Miracle at Cana scene, but fortunately this is an individual one. The servant of the scene is pouring water into a wide mouthed jar from a large amphora which he holds over the shoulder away from the spectator. Christ stirs the contents of the jar with a heavy wand. A study of the occurrences of the Miracle at Cana in Early Christian art localizes the particular type of the vase in the north Mediterranean area of the west.⁸³

The earliest representations of the Miracle at Cana are the purely symbolic, Hellenistic ones of the catacombs, sarcophagi, and gold glass; which are characterized by the figure of Christ, who touches a jar with a wand, and who is alone or accompanied by a single disciple. The number of jars varies from one to seven, and no servant accompanies the scene.⁸⁴ A developing narrative interest, arising first in the east, resulted in the increasing of the number of disciples, the addition of one and then two servants, and finally of the Virgin.⁸⁵ The primitive tradition remained predominant in the west throughout the fifth and even the sixth centuries, making the concession to the eastern innovations of the addition in a number of north Italian and Gallic monuments of one or two servants.⁸⁶

The earliest datable appearance of a servant in the west is on a Gallic columnar sarcophagus at Civitâ Castellana, which Marion Lawrence places about 400 A.D. (Fig. 5).⁸⁷ Here the servant is a half-sized figure hesitantly added to the normal Hellenistic group of Christ and a single disciple. He pours the water from a large amphora held, as on the silver vase, over the shoulder away from the spectator. A servant identical in every particular but grown to full stature appears in the Miracle at Cana scenes on one of the Milan ivory book covers and on an ivory plaque at Berlin (Fig. 6), both of which belong to the Italo-Gallic school.⁸⁸ The fifth or sixth century lintel on the west side of St. Mark's at Venice frontalizes the group and places Christ between two servants (Fig. 4).⁸⁹ A single servant appears also on three Carolingian objects, all of which have Gallic roots (Fig. 7).⁹⁰

81. Garrucci, VI, pl. 460/9; also illustrated by Cabrol, II, 1, col. 1353, fig. 1745.

82. This column is remarkably like those on which the cock perches in northern versions of the Denial by Peter. If the partially hidden scene actually is a Denial by Peter featuring a tall column, we have one more bit of evidence for the northern origin of the vase (see Soper, *op. cit.*, EXCURSUS II).

83. Smith, E. B., *Early Christian Iconography*, Princeton, 1918, pp. 85-94 and Table V, gives the most complete catalogue of the various types; the reader is referred to him for examples other than those discussed below. For convenience, references to illustrations of the Miracle at Cana are given as far as possible from this work.

84. *Ibid.*, figs. 72, 73, 74.

85. *Ibid.*, figs. 76, 78, 79, 80, 82.

86. See below. See also the Miracle at Cana in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Ricci, C., *Ravenna*, Bergamo, 1906, pl. 69).

87. Lawrence, *Columnar*, p. 169, no. 47; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 143/3.

88. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 206, ff., 237 ff., figs. 156, 163.

89. Pierce, H. and Tyler, R., *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1932, I, pl. 94/b.

90. Diptych in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Venturi, A., *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1904, et seq., I, fig. 382); Bookcover in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Goldschmidt, A., *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen, etc.*, Berlin, 1914-1926, I, pl. 3/5); Silver staurotheca in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican (*Monuments et Mémoires . . . Piot*, 1906, pl. 9). Researches of F. Hartt, as yet unpublished, have shown the close affinity of this ninth century work with members of the north Italian and Gallic group of earlier date.

Four other Carolingian ivories have one or two servants pouring from vases held high in the arms, though on the side toward the spectator. These, if related at all to the Gallic type, can only indicate its spread of popularity (ivory plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum; Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 22/65; plaque in the British Museum, *ibid.*, I, pl. 22/46; plaque at Gmünden in the collection of the Duke of Cumberland, *ibid.*, I, pl. 22/47;

A similar servant appears on an Alexandrian-Coptic gold medallion at Berlin with the variation that the amphora seems to be placed on the shoulder nearer the spectator (Fig. 8).⁹¹ The Miracle at Cana scene in the mosaic dome decoration of S. Giovanni in Fonte at Naples shows two servants with amphorae again over the off shoulders (Fig. 9).⁹²

The specifically eastern type for the servant appears in four important monuments: the Coptic frescoes at Antinoë,⁹³ the evangelary, Codex Greek 21, at Leningrad (Fig. 10);⁹⁴ the Rabula Gospels;⁹⁵ and the evangelary, Greek 74, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.⁹⁶ In all of these the servant who pours the water holds the amphora in his hands and not over his shoulder. The Miracle at Cana on the Coptic gold medallion mentioned above, which Dennison places in the sixth or early seventh century,⁹⁷ differs from the Provençal examples in that the amphora is held against the shoulder nearer the spectator and in a precarious position between the arms of the servant. It probably demonstrates only a slight variation of the Rabula Gospels' type in which the amphora is held high in the arms.

The date of the mosaic in the Baptistry at Naples is uncertain, but it may be placed fairly safely in the second half of the fifth century. Its Syrian affinities have been pointed out by Smith,⁹⁸ and the presence of two servants in the Miracle at Cana scene suggests an eastern influence. The manner of holding the amphora is similar to the Provençal examples with the difference again that the servants seem more intent on displaying wonderment than on pouring. The scene here represents simply an assimilation of the eastern and the Provençal types. The artistic relationship between Naples and north Italy in the fifth century is shown not only by the northern affinities of the church of Nola near Naples,⁹⁹ but in the similarity of the general schemes of decoration of the mosaics of S. Giovanni in Fonte to those of the Baptistry at Albenga (Fig. 37).¹⁰⁰

The silver vase can thus be reasonably assigned to the fifth century as a work of the Italo-Gallic region. As supporting evidence may be mentioned: the lambs of the lowest register, probably approaching a central Lamb of God; the rope borders, identical with those on the amula of the Museo Sacro; the upright leaf ornament, similar to that on the towers of the basilica on a panel of the S. Sabina doors.¹⁰¹

* * *

plaque in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich, *ibid.*, I, pl. 27/67b).

An interesting late variation of the type is found in two ivories, the altar frontal in the cathedral of S. Matteo at Salerno (*ibid.*, IV, pl. 45/126, 30), and a fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum (in *Burlington Magazine*, XXXVIII, pl. I). The altar frontal, which is of eleventh or twelfth century date, has Byzantine connections; and the fragment, of similar date, seems to be Egyptian work. Both show three servants, one of whom pours from a wine sack or jar held in a similar manner to the amphorae of the Gallic monuments, and may indicate a conflation of eastern and western types. These two ivories are so close to each other in disposition, that one might almost be copied from the other.

91. Dennison, W., *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*, New York, 1918 (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series Volume XII, *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art*, Part II), pl. 16.

92. Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 77.

93. *Ibid.*, fig. 80.

94. Morey, C. R., *Notes on East Christian Miniatures*, in THE ART BULLETIN, XI, fig. 61, p. 52.

95. Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 79.

96. *Ibid.*, fig. 82.

97. Dennison, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

98. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

99. See above, p. 194 f. and p. 201.

100. Particularly similar is the central motif in both cases of cross or monogram surrounded by doves. The reason for the emergence of a specific Provençal type of servant becomes apparent on further examination of the sarcophagus at Civitâ Castellana, where he first appears. In all essentials the scene is the normal Latin one found on innumerable frieze sarcophagi. The only new element is the diminutive servant. If the artist who first made this change in the sarcophagus type had been copying a particular eastern example, he would certainly have rearranged his composition to conform more closely to his prototype. Instead, he seems to have drawn on his imagination or more probably on some local manner of handling a heavy amphora, and inserted the servant a little uncertainly into his familiar composition. With growing popularity the servant was given a more prominent place, and a purely Provençal type was established.

101. Cf. Soper, *op. cit.*, fig. 43.

The third silver vessel of the Italo-Gallic schools is once more an amula, and, as with the Bianchini vase, its present whereabouts is uncertain. It was formerly in the Strozzi collection and is preserved in a detailed drawing of Cabrol (Figs. 11 and 13).¹⁰² In general shape, style, and technique this amula resembles the two vessels already treated, but here the entire body is taken up by a single frieze containing two scenes: the Apostle Peter Receiving the Keys from Christ, and the miracle of the Healing of the Blind Man.¹⁰³

The scene of the Apostle Peter Receiving the Keys from Christ is so exclusively a north Mediterranean type that its presence on the Strozzi amula draws this vessel immediately within the Italo-Gallic focus. Examples similar to that on the amula were found on ten "Asiatic" sarcophagi,¹⁰⁴ on five provincial Gallic sarcophagi,¹⁰⁵ and on only one frieze sarcophagus; this last was obviously under the most pronounced "Asiatic" influence (Fig. 12).¹⁰⁶ Two excellent early examples of the Roman type for the scene are to be found at Rome in the church of S. Costanza¹⁰⁷ and in the cemetery of Commodilla.¹⁰⁸ These differ from all the northern examples in having Christ seated on a globe rather than simply standing.

The miracle of the Healing of the Blind Man as represented on the silver vessel again has a particularly northern focus. The earliest forms of this scene, in the catacombs and on frieze sarcophagi, display a formula where Christ touches the eyes of a diminutive figure who either holds his arms rigidly at his sides or else extends them towards Him. The growing narrative sense of the later fourth and fifth centuries adds to the blind man a staff, and gives him full stature. This, the type of our amula, is found most prominently in the west in monuments of north Italian or Gallic manufacture.¹⁰⁹

* * *

102. Cabrol, I, 2, col. 3234, fig. 1157; see also, Garrucci, VI, pl. 460/7, 8. No dimensions or in any way exact description of the vessel could be found.

103. This may be either the Healing of the Blind Born (John ix, 1-41) or the Healing of the Blind Man (Mark viii, 22-26). Wilpert makes a distinction between Early Christian representations of these scenes, but as the present example does not fit either of his groupings, all examples obtainable of both were included in the statistic.

104. Arles, Musée Lapidaire (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 26/2, 145/4, 146/2); Civitâ Castellana, episcopal palace (*ibid.*, pl. 143/3); Leyden, Van Oudheden Museum (Garrucci, V, pl. 319/4); Nîmes, Meynier de Salinelle Collection (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 111/3); Rome, St. Peter's, Crypt (*ibid.*, pl. 39/1); Rome, S. Sebastiano, Museum (*ibid.*, pl. 140/8). This is only a fragment of the drapery of Peter, with the hand of Christ holding the key. However, the drapery has all the characteristics of "Asiatic" drapery, with long swinging lines, and a suggestion of the "Asiatic" treatment of the pallium; Rome, Camposanto Tedesco (*ibid.*, pl. 140/6). This again is fragmentary, showing only the figure of Peter and the key. Peter, however, is perfectly "Asiatic" in type, with strongly triangular head and the typical fringe of drill holes about the hair; lost (described by Peiresc in Ms. 6012, fol. 42ro. of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; cf. LeBlant, *Sarcophages Arles*, Paris, 1878, p. 66).

105. Avignon, Musée Calvet (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 140/4, cover of sarcophagus; pl. 140/5, cover); Rome, Cemetery of S. Callixtus, Museum (Wilpert, pl. 140/3, fragmentary); Saint-Maximin, Church of Ste. Madeleine, Crypt (*ibid.*, pl. 39/2, 120/1, cover).

106. Rome, Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. Wilpert,

Sarcophagi pl. 114/4. This sarcophagus is of considerable interest as an example of the interaction of "Asiatic" and Latin forces discussed at length by Soper in THE ART BULLETIN, XIX, pp. 148 ff. It represents obviously either an "Asiatic" workman trying his hand at the Latin type, or a Latin workman under the strongest "Asiatic" influences. The exactness of the taking over of "Asiatic" formulae, and the manner and quality of execution suggest the former. The work is spaced out without crowding, all on one plane, with no attempt at the illusion of depth, and no crowded, half-concealed background figures. Only five scenes are depicted instead of the usual eight or nine of frieze sarcophagi, and these are strongly centralized about the group of Christ and the Samaritan Woman. All the figures are typically "Asiatic" in drapery and head-types. The scene of the Raising of Lazarus gives a round arch to the tomb instead of the gable found on all other frieze sarcophagi representations. The well of the Samaritan Woman scene is also decorated with an arch.

Two other occurrences of the scene of Peter Receiving the Keys deserve mention. These are: a relief in the Museum of Aquileia, of which a photograph could not be obtained, but which seems to be the normal "Asiatic" type (in *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1889, p. 150); and a tile in the Mus. Alaoui at Tunis, which seems to bear a crude representation of the scene (in *Revue archéologique*, 1893, p. 276, fig. 3). This latter may serve as another interesting instance of the already noted frequent spread of these "Asiatic" motifs to north Africa.

107. Wilpert, *Mosaiken*, III, pl. 3/5.

108. Chapel of SS. Felix and Adauctus, Wall L. Wilpert, *ibid.*, IV, pl. 148.

109. The amula classifies so conclusively on other counts



FIG. 18—*Grado, S. Eufemia: Circular Silver Reliquary, Top*

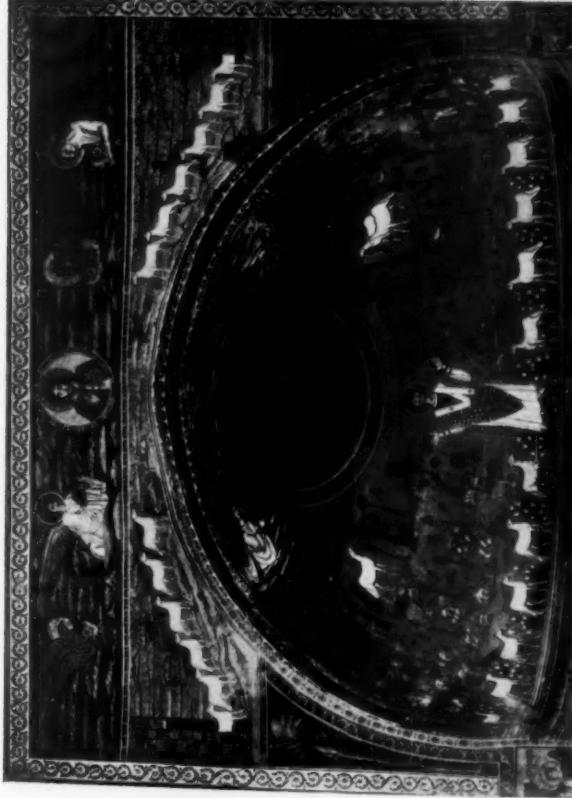


FIG. 19—*Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe: Apse Mosaic*

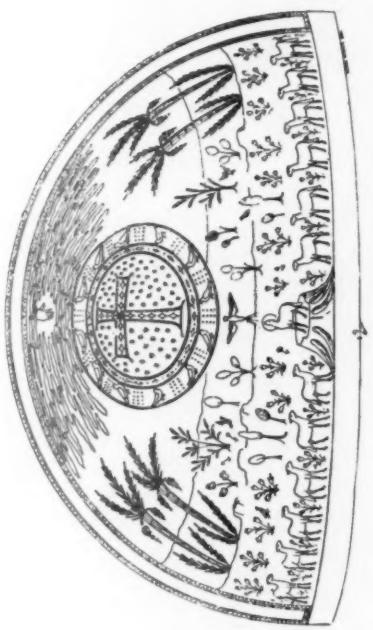


FIG. 17—*Nola, S. Felix: Apse Mosaic (Reconstruction by Wickhoff)*

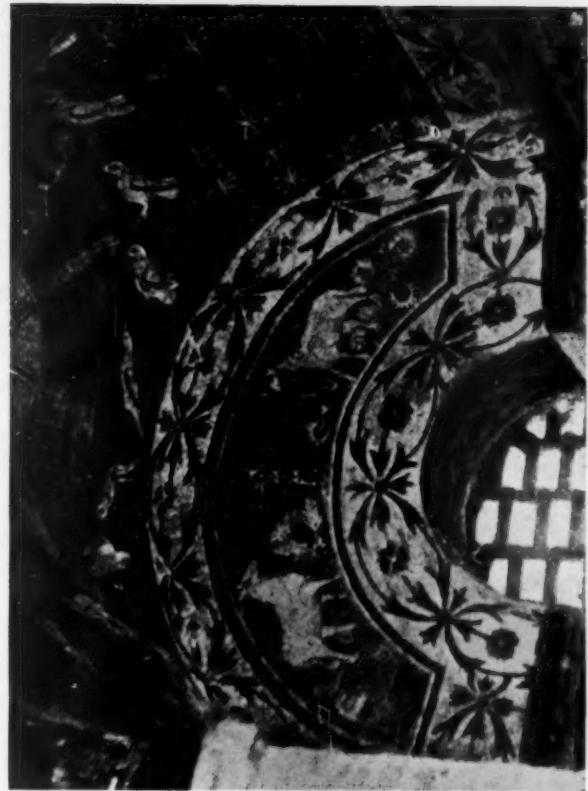


FIG. 20—*Albenga, Baptistry: Mosaic*



FIG. 21—*Top*



FIG. 22—*Front*



FIG. 23—*Back*

Paris, Louvre: Silver Casket from Brivio, c. 375-425 A.D.

Four well-known reliquary chests also seem to have been produced within the north Italian or Provençal regions. They are related by the presence on all four of wreath borders identical with that on the neck of the Strozzi amula, and on a general basis of shape.¹¹⁰

The first of these to be treated, the oblong chest found at Grado (Figs. 14, 15 right, and 16),¹¹¹ has on one side, within medallions, busts of Christ, Peter, and Paul; and on the other side, within medallions, busts of five saints, four males grouped about a female saint. Palm trees ornament the ends between the medallions; and the top of the box displays a jeweled cross flanked by two lambs.

Around the upper edge are inscribed the names of five saints: Cantius, Cantianilla, Cantianus, Quirinus, and Latinus. The first three are saints directly associated with Aquileia, which neighbors Grado; Latinus was bishop of Brescia, and Quirinus bishop of Siscia.¹¹² Around the lower edge of the box is another inscription telling us: "Laurentius V[ir] S[pectabilis], Ioannis V[ir] S[pectabilis] Niceforus San[c]tis Reddedid Botum."¹¹³ Thus, the box may at once be associated with the Istrian coast where it was found. It was probably ordered by the persons named and presented to the church in whose altar it was discovered.

The type of Peter and Paul in medallions in full profile toward Christ is found in only one other Early Christian monument. This is the amula of the Museo Sacro already assigned to the Ravennate region.¹¹⁴ The use of medallions for the representations of Christ and Peter and Paul is against a Roman origin, while the Latin inscription of course removes the possibility of an eastern origin.

The motif of the lambs adoring the cross may be shown to be a north Italian and Provençal type. The best parallels were found in the mosaics of the baptistery at Albenga (Fig. 20) and of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna (Fig. 19).¹¹⁵ Examples of lambs flanking a cross or monogram may be seen: on a mosaic at Enfidaville in Gaul;¹¹⁶ on an altar in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna;¹¹⁷ on the stucco decoration of the Ortho-

with the vessels treated, that it will not be necessary to give in detail the extensive statistic compiled for this scene. The early type where the blind man is a diminutive figure without a staff appears on sixty-eight frieze sarcophagi, on nine columnar or tree sarcophagi, and on a few other miscellaneous objects. The type of the amula, where the blind man has a staff, is found on fourteen "Asiatic" sarcophagi and on five frieze sarcophagi. The staff is (without justification) restored by Wilpert on a number of fragmentary versions of the scene. Two of the five frieze sarcophagi on which it does appear are of the double-register type, shown by Soper as most susceptible to influences from the north and east. Two others change the northern formula in giving the blind man a gnarled rather than a straight staff. In the face of the overwhelming number of the versions without the staff, there can be no doubt that this small group represents another adoption of an "Asiatic" form by Latin workmen. The S. Sabina doors show an instance where the blind man is given full stature, as on the amula. A number of late examples are found in the Greek east, and it is possible that the more realistic version originated there, and spread to the west first through Gaul and north Italy, like so much of the developed iconography. However, all the close parallels of the scene on the amula are on monuments of north Mediterranean provenance.

110. The wreath border is not advanced as a definite evidence of provenance. It occurs on objects such as the casket of Projecta in the British Museum, whose provenance has not been satisfactorily settled; and on definitely eastern silver objects, such as the vase from Emesa in the Louvre. However, its occurrence on so many of the group under discussion, which are proved in other ways to be

related, is worthy of mention. An interesting occurrence is on the silver casket of S. Nazaro in Milan that C. R. Morey has shown to be of Renaissance date (*in American Journal of Archeology*, XXIII, 1919, pp. 101 ff.). In this case, the probability is considerable that the Renaissance artist copied a motif on the Early Christian casket he was replacing. The earlier casket would presumably have been of the north Italian group.

111. Grado, cathedral of S. Eufemia, found under the altar of the Early Christian basilica at Grado in 1871 together with the other casket from Grado to be discussed. The discovery is discussed in *Bull. arch. crist.* 1872, pp. 41 ff., and 155 ff., pls. 10 and 11, where the caskets are fully described, the inscriptions interpreted in part, and dates of c. 452 for the circular pyxis, and c. 568 for the oblong casket, are suggested, though not supported by concrete evidence. The caskets are also described by Garrucci, pls. 436/1-5, and Cabrol III, 1, col. 1105 and note 2), and are mentioned and illustrated frequently thereafter, though never seriously studied.

112. Baring-Gould, S., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 30 ff., and 428 ff.

113. In *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1872, pp. 155 ff.

114. See above, p. 205. We may also compare the pyxis from Pola, at Vienna, that is to be discussed, whose lid shows the full profiles of Peter and Paul as busts though not within medallions.

115. Toesca, P., *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia, etc.*, Milan, 1912, fig. 14.

116. Gauckler, P., *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique, etc.*, Paris, 1910, II, pl. 261.

117. Garrucci, VI, pl. 422/5.

dox Baptistry at Ravenna;¹¹⁸ on capitals of S. Vitale at Ravenna;¹¹⁹ on a city-gate sarcophagus at Tolentino;¹²⁰ and on an altar at S. Zacharie in Gaul.¹²¹ The schemes occur twelve times on Ravennate sarcophagi;¹²² and instances of lambs in horizontal rows approaching a central cross or monogram are found on the Pola casket and on two Gallic altar tables.¹²³ Five other north Mediterranean examples have lambs in such immediate relationship to a cross or monogram as to represent only a slight variant of the motif.¹²⁴ One example each of cross and lambs was found at Otricoli,¹²⁵ at Narni,¹²⁶ at Rome,¹²⁷ and from Aversa.¹²⁸ All of these last are late and seem to derive from the Ravennate type.¹²⁹

The elaborate headdress of Cantianilla is closely approximated by sixth century portraits in S. Vitale and by late fifth and sixth century empress medals,¹³⁰ and indicates a date late in the fifth century, close to the amula of the Museo Sacro. The type of Christ is again the characteristic "Asiatic," long haired, beardless Christ.

The box can be ascribed to a north Italian origin and the large number of Ravennate iconographic parallels as well as its relation to the amula in the Museo Sacro suggest Ravenna and the more developed school of silver workers of this region.

* * *

The other reliquary from Grado is cylindrical with most of the ornament on the lid, where a frontal, enthroned Madonna holds the Christ Child (Figs. 15 left, and 18). The Madonna has as a nimbus a variant of the Constantinian monogram, carries a cross-staff, and sits on an ornate, lyre backed throne.

Around the upper lip of the body of the reliquary are the names of the Virgin and of saints: Maria, Martinus, Apollinaris, Vitus, Cassianus, Pancratius, and Hippolytus. The inside of the box is divided into a group of compartments holding a number of small containers for relics, each of which is inscribed with the name of a saint, except for the one whose inscription reads "Domna Maria." The saints' names as inscribed are: "Sc. Hyp-

118. *Ibid.*, pl. 406.

119. *Ibid.*, pl. 408/4.

120. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 73/2.

121. Cabrol, III, 2, fig. 2974.

122. Ferrara, S. Francesco (*Rassegna d'arte antica e moderna*, VIII, fig. p. 258); Fusignano (Garrucci, V, pl. 393/1); Milan, S. Lorenzo (*ibid.*, pl. 387/6); Ravenna, Cathedral (*ibid.*, pls. 337/3, 345/3); S. Apollinare in Classe (Dütschke, H., *op. cit.*, Leipzig, 1909, figs. 29/a, 31, 33; Venturi, *Storia*, I, fig. 207); S. Francesco (Garrucci, V, pl. 387/8); Museum (Dütschke, fig 19; *ibid.*, p. 38).

123. Cabrol, III, 2, fig. 3444; in *Bulletin archéologique*, 1910, pl. 1/1.

124. For sarcophagi see: Padua, S. Antonio (Venturi, *Storia*, I, fig. 208); Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Garrucci, V, pl. 356/1); Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe (Dütschke, *op. cit.*, fig. 34/c; *ibid.*, fig. 29/c); stone fragment, S. Peter im Holz (Egger, in *Jhb. oest. archäol. Inst.* XIII, 1910, col. 171); reading desk of Ste. Radegonde, Poitiers, Convent of Ste. Croix (Cahier, *Mélanges*, III, pl. 159). Also of interest in connection with the Pola ivory casket is the comb in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican which has on one side lambs flanking a wreath and on the other lambs flanking an empty throne (dated c. 400 by coins found with it; photo, Princeton Index of Christian Art).

125. Otricoli, S. Maria. Garrucci, VI, pl. 422/3.

126. Narni, Cathedral. *Ibid.*, III, pl. 393/6.

127. Rome, Cemetery of S. Callixtus, Cubiculum of S.

Cecilia, dated 432-440. De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, II, pl. 7. This isolated Roman example is of mid fifth century date, and is accompanied by figures of marked "Asiatic" style. It can easily represent the infiltration from the north of a subject already widely popular.

128 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, from Aversa, Italy: Wulff, *Altchr. Bildw.*, I, no. 24.

129. The possibility of an origin in the east must be kept in mind, although the only object that might serve as evidence for such a theory is a relief in the Ottoman Museum at Istanbul whose border has what may indeed be rampant sheep flanking a cross within a wreath (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 235/4). These may not actually be sheep—they look a good deal more like horses or deer—and, if they are, the whole grouping differs markedly from the western examples. If the scheme did come from the east, it certainly found its first and greatest popularity in the northern area of the west; and the actual preponderance of instances there, as against the sporadic occurrences elsewhere, makes it difficult to predicate an origin in another locality.

130. Though less elaborate, the headdress suggests that of Theodora in S. Vitale (Garrucci, IV, pl. 264/2). Closer are the headdresses of the processional female saints in S. Apollinare Nuovo (*ibid.*, pl. 244/3), and those of the empresses Verina, Zenonis, and Ariadne, as seen on empress medals of the latter fifth century (Delbrueck, R., *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, pl. 24).



FIG. 24—*Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro: Silver Capsella, c. 425-450 A.D.*



FIG. 25—*Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro: Silver Capsella, c. 425-450 A.D.*

politus, Scs. Apollinaris, Scs. Bitus, Scs. Severus, Scs. Sebastianus, Scs. Troeomus [Trophymus], Sca. Agnes, Scs. [Pancratius], Scs. Cassianus, Scs. Martinus."¹³¹

All of these are well-known saints of the period, and most of them are associated with the north Italian and Gallic regions. In fact, an examination of the saints on the walls of S. Apollinare Nuovo reveals that of the saints named on the exterior of the box, all except S. Vitus appears there. Of those of the interior containers, all except S. Vitus, S. Trophymus, and S. Severus are on the walls of the church.¹³² S. Trophymus was first bishop of Arles, S. Severus bishop of Ravenna, and S. Vitus sufficiently popular to need no comment.¹³³

The Madonna has a number of peculiarities that must be examined with care. The decorated nimbus is reserved for Christ in Early Christian art. No other example of the Madonna carrying a cross-staff can be found in the early period, and it is very rare even in later medieval art. The lyre-backed throne on which she sits appears on two Ravennate mosaics, in both of which Christ is seated on it.¹³⁴ The lyre-backed throne of the Virgin at S. Maria Antiqua seems to Myrtilla Avery to derive from Ravenna, and is in date late sixth century at the earliest.¹³⁵

The inscribed names of the saints, the monogram in the nimbus,¹³⁶ and the lyre-backed throne all relate this reliquary to Ravenna, as also does its stylistic connection with the other reliquary at Grado. However, the facial type of the Madonna differs somewhat from other Ravennate works, and her iconographic peculiarities still await explanation.¹³⁷

* * *

The casket found in the castle of Brivio in Lombardy, which is now in the Louvre, is of quality much inferior to those at Grado, and must be given an earlier date and possibly

131. In *Bulletin archéologique*, 1910, pl. 11.

132. Garrucci, IV, pls. 242, 243.

133. Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 12 ff.; V, pp. 321 ff.

134. S. Agata Maggiore, Ravenna (Garrucci, IV, pl. 254/1); S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (Anthony, *Mosaics*, pl. 15). It also appears in the east in the sixth century at S. Demetrios, Saloniki (Diehl, *Salonique*, pls. 27, 34), and frequently in both east and west in later medieval art (see Avery, M., *The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, VII, p. 133, note 16).

135. Avery, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

136. Soper, *Italo-Gallic School*, p. 150.

137. A possible explanation for these is that the atelier in which the reliquary was made received an order for a box to contain, among others, some relics of the Virgin, with the stipulation that the box be properly ornamented with a representation of the Virgin; and that the atelier had no local tradition to follow for the portrayal of a frontal hieratic Virgin such as this one. The artist, casting about him for a solution, may have taken some imported portrait and copied it, feeling free, because of the lack of local tradition, to attach to the Virgin a number of the attributes of Christ, such as the decorated nimbus, the cross-staff, and the particular type of throne. This theory gains force when we find that the representations of Virgins approximating this one most closely are on sixth and seventh century Egyptian works. An Egyptian origin for this particular Madonna would also explain the cross-staff, a frequent attribute of Alexandrian Christs, and of angels attending the Virgin (Garrucci, VI, pl. 458/2; Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 46).

The puffiness of the face of the Virgin on the Grado

casket is paralleled closely in an Egyptian ivory of the sixth century at Berlin (Vöge, W., *Berlin, Kgl. Museen. Die Elfenbeinwerke, etc.*, Berlin, 1900-2, pl. 2/3). In general appearance the Virgin of the casket fits with the sixth century Ravennate type that seems to have appeared in the west from Syria or Egypt about that time (Lawrence, M., *Maria Regina*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, VII, p. 151, note 10). She accords in dress and disposition of the Child with the Virgin enthroned in S. Apollinare Nuovo (Anthony, *Mosaics*, pl. 15), and that at Parenzo (*ibid.*, pl. 25), even giving a suggestion of the flowered foreground of these mosaics. It might be argued that the Virgin of the casket is simply a copy of one of these later sixth century mosaics, and so dates in the latter part of the century. However, this would still leave unexplained the attaching to the Virgin of various traits of Christ, and the appearance at all in the west of this type of cross-staff. These can be explained only by an artist completely flouting an established tradition for the rendering of the Virgin (something as unlikely as the double symbolism for the Four Evangelists in Early Christian art), or by the suggestion that the casket antedates the other Madonnas of this type in the west, and that the artist, using an Egyptian model, and because of the lack of a local tradition, was exercising what would be in this case quite pardonable originality.

Although, as has been indicated, the puffy face of the Virgin and Child make them look more Egyptian than western, part of the puffiness is no doubt caused by the repoussé technique in silver. A comparable puffiness appears on many other silver works, including the face of the Christ of the oblong Grado casket, and that of Theodosius on his Missorium (Delbrueck, *Kaiserpriöräts*, pl. 95).

a more provincial provenance (Figs. 21, 22, 23).¹³⁸ It is decorated with three of the most common scenes of the catacombs and of frieze sarcophagi: the miracle of the Raising of Lazarus, on the top; the Adoration of the Magi, on the front; and the Three Hebrews in the Furnace, on the back. These typically western scenes and more specifically the magicianlike Christ with His heavy wand, so characteristic of the catacombs and frieze sarcophagi,¹³⁹ place the casket at once in the west, and at first glance suggest a possible Roman origin in the later fourth century. However, when we examine the scenes in more detail, we find a number of things which cannot be Roman.

The Raising of Lazarus differs from all purely Roman examples in having an arched type of tomb. While this form, of eastern origin, is frequent in monuments of north Italy and Gaul, only one example could be found in Rome; on the frieze sarcophagus already discussed which has definite "Asiatic" relationships.¹⁴⁰ The highly ornamented columns of the tomb are also characteristic of the "Asiatic" sarcophagi.¹⁴¹ The sister, Martha, kneeling in front of the tomb, and closely associated with Christ rather than with the tomb, is an excellent example of the Gallic form identified by Soper as a conflation of this scene with the miracle of the Woman with an Issue.¹⁴²

The Adoration of the Magi shows one feature extremely characteristic of the northern schools. This is the notched chiton of the Magi, the northern affinities of which have been discussed at length by Soper.¹⁴³

The servant stoking the furnace in the scene of the Three Hebrews is, in the form shown here, more usual in northern than in Roman monuments.¹⁴⁴

* * *

The silver capsella in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican that was found at Henchir-Zirara in north Africa is almost unique among Early Christian silver objects in the adequacy with which it has been treated (Figs. 24, 25). In a long and learned article published on the occasion of the presentation of the capsella to Pope Leo XIII, De Rossi assigned it to north Africa and dated it in the early fifth century.¹⁴⁵ This provenance depended prin-

138. Lauer, Ph., *La capsella di Brivio*, in *Mon. Piot*, XIII, 1906, pp. 229 ff., and pl. 19, gives the most complete discussion of the casket. While this article is principally descriptive, Lauer suggests tentatively that the casket is a fifth century Italian copy of a Syrian original.

139. This type of Christ is one of the surest indications of a western provenance, occurring as it does on countless objects of ultimately Roman inspiration. While the miracle-working Christ bearing a wand is found in eastern monuments (as for instance the Miracle at Cana scene in Codex Greek 21 at Leningrad), the occurrences are late, sporadic, and the wand is a light stick usually held as one might hold a pen.

140. See above, note 106; see also Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.

141. Cf. the seven-arch-and-gable example in the Lateran Museum (Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 44; Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pl. 195/2).

142. In THE ART BULLETIN, XIX, pp. 183 ff.

143. Soper, *Italo-Gallic School*, p. 169 and EXCURSUS I.

144. The evidence here is not conclusive as to the origin of this type, but proportionately the greatest popularity in Gaul is evident. In approximately one hundred and fifty examples of the scene, the servant appears eleven times: on the Brivio casket, on six sarcophagi covers at Rome, and on four Gallic sarcophagi. Thus, apart from the casket, he can not be found on any medium except sarcoph-

agi, nor can any early instances be discovered in the east. In five of the six Roman examples, the servant kneels before the furnace and places wood on the flame (Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pls. 170/2, 4, 174/10, 178/2, 181/1). In the sixth Roman example, and in the four Gallic sarcophagi, the servant is shown, as on the Brivio casket, standing and prodding the fire with a large stick (Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pls. 175/6, 202/4; Garrucci, V, pl. 397/1; LeBlant, *Sarc. Gaule*, fig. p. 93, pl. 25/1). The last two are Gallic sarcophagi of fifth or sixth century date.

On this evidence we may fairly safely conclude that the servant in his crouching form originated in Rome; that the north played one of its frequent variations by putting him on his feet and giving him a poker. The one Roman example of this type is of exceptionally fine quality for a frieze sarcophagus cover, and here it is possible to suppose some northern influence.

145. De Rossi, G. B., *Capsella argentea africana*, in *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1887, pp. 118 ff.; translation in *Bulletin Monumental*, 1889, pp. 315 ff. of the Italian article accompanying the gift. This latter gives the full discussion of the circumstances of finding, of the basilica where the capsella was found, and De Rossi's dating and provenance. He also discusses at length the tradition and use of reliquaries. The capsella is mentioned and illustrated frequently after De Rossi, but nothing has been added to his discussion.

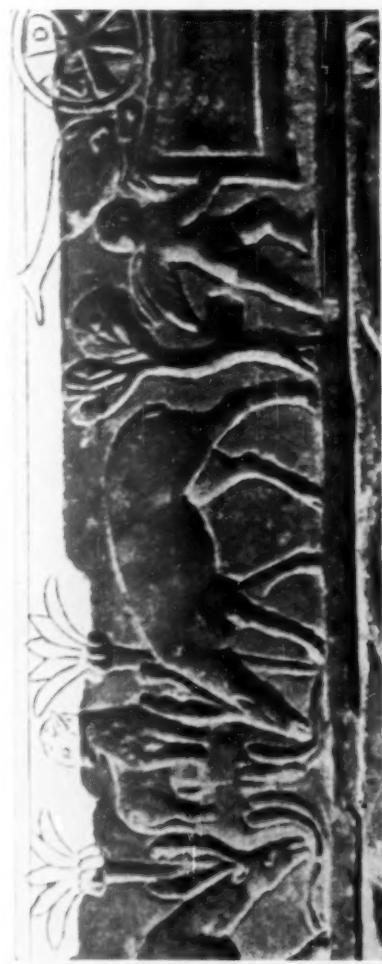


FIG. 26—Marseilles, Musée d'Archéologie:
Sarcophagus, Detail of Cover

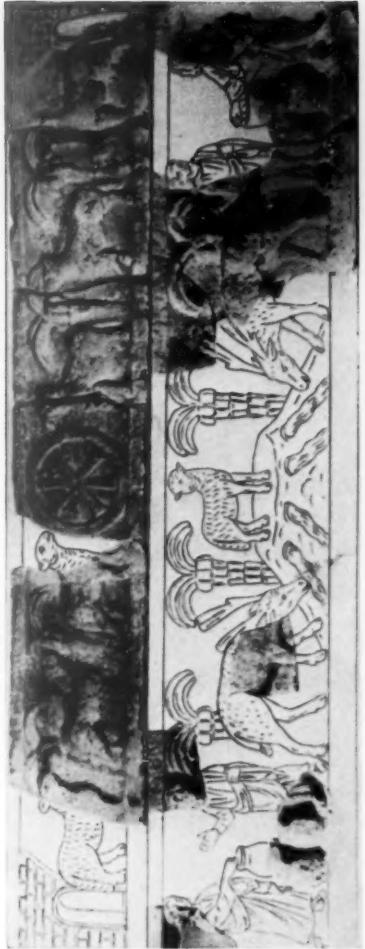


FIG. 27—Marseilles, St. Victor: *Sarcophagus* (Reconstruction by Wilpert)



FIG. 28—Mosaic from Thabarca



FIG. 29—Rome, S. Sebastiano: *Sarcophagus*, *Detail*



FIG. 31—Marseilles, Musée d'Archéologie: Altar Table, Front and Back Borders

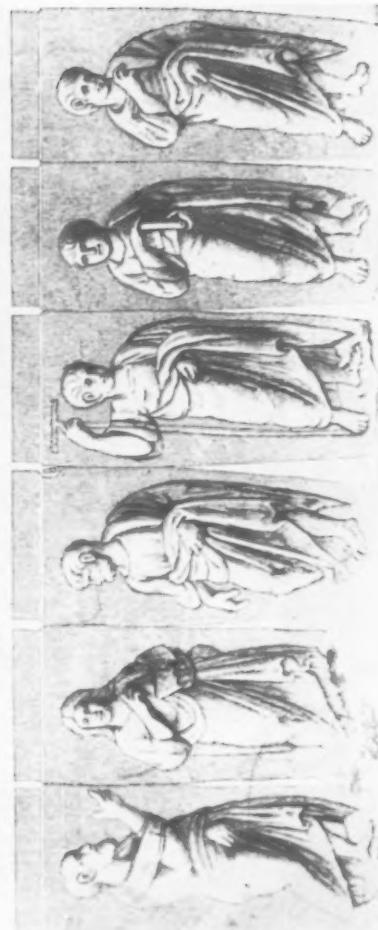


FIG. 32—Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Silver Pyxis from Pola, Deployed (Drawing)

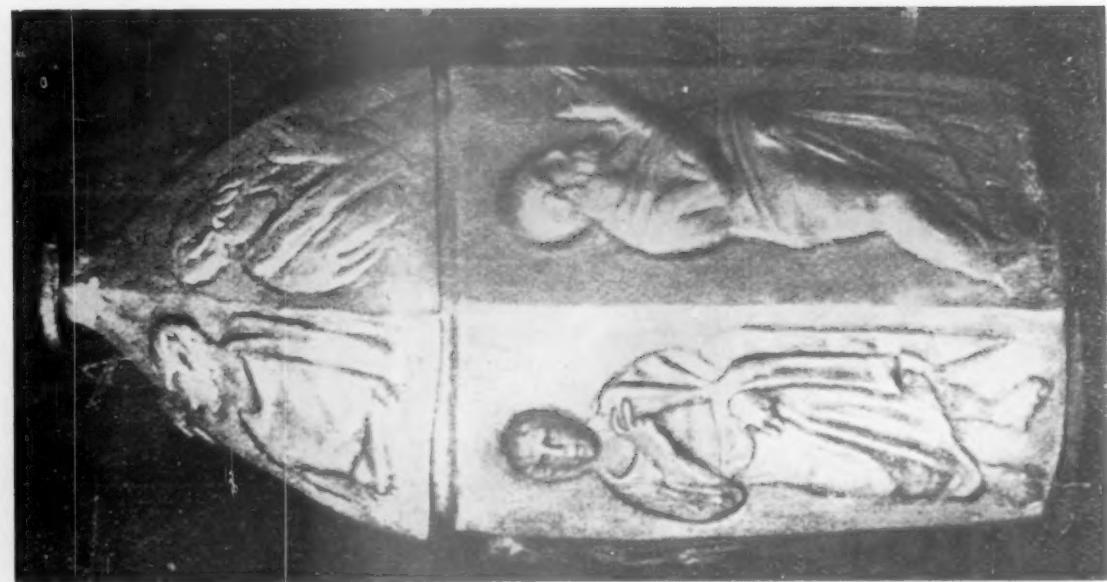


FIG. 30—Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Silver Pyxis from Pola, c. 400-425 A.D.

cipally on the candles flanking the martyr on the lid, and on what he felt to be peculiarly African sheep on the side. While the latter argument need not be taken too seriously, there is no doubt of the popularity of this particular use of candles in north Africa. The north African provenance may even be strengthened by the unusual architecture of the Holy Cities from which the lambs emerge, an architecture different from all other examples used in this scene and paralleling closely the architecture depicted on a mosaic from Thabarca in north Africa (Fig. 28).¹⁴⁶

However, against these north African characteristics, we have first the scene of the Lamb of God Adored by Lambs (representing the Apostles), which has already been assigned to the north Mediterranean region.¹⁴⁷ The Lamb of God on the capsella is distinguished by a Latin cross over his back. This is probably a descriptive mark that grew up in the late fourth and fifth centuries and that was later supplanted by the cross-staff and nimbus. In the form of the capsella it is found on the Lamb of God accompanying Christ on six columnar sarcophagi (Fig. 29),¹⁴⁸ on the Lamb of God of the architrave of Salona,¹⁴⁹ and the relief at Anagni,¹⁵⁰ already mentioned. It is seen once in the east on a relief at Deir Sambil in Syria.¹⁵¹ A cross monogram replaces the cross on a columnar sarcophagus in Rome,¹⁵² on the sarcophagus cover at Spalato,¹⁵³ on the gem mentioned above,¹⁵⁴ and on a fresco in the cemetery of Petrus and Marcellinus in Rome.¹⁵⁵ A Gallic altar table at Besançon shows an interesting variant, where a very large monogram rests on the back of a Lamb, and a dove perches on top of the monogram.¹⁵⁶

While the isolated eastern example may indicate an eastern origin for the motif, its only convincing popularity is in the Italo-Gallic region, and stylistically the capsella is related most closely to the examples on the columnar sarcophagi. The cross on the back of the Lamb of God thus relates this particular "adoration" scheme to the north Mediterranean area.

For the scene on the other side of the capsella, the deer (in this case a stag and roe) drinking from the Four Rivers, we also find our best parallels in the north Italian and Gallic regions. A palm-and-city-gate sarcophagus, formerly at Reims, has the central scene of Christ on the Mount, flanked by Peter and Paul. Two stags drink from the Four Rivers descending from the Mount.¹⁵⁷ A tree sarcophagus at Marseilles has a central "symbolic Resurrection" with the variant that two deer drink from the Rivers at the foot of the cross.¹⁵⁸ An excellent parallel to the capsella is seen in a Gallic sarcophagus cover in Marseilles, where the Lamb of God stands on the Mount, and the two deer drinking from the Rivers flank it (Fig. 26).¹⁵⁹ This same scene is reproduced on another Gallic sarcophagus

146. In *Mon. Piot*, XIII, 1906, pl. 18. It is interesting to recall, however, the relationship of this mosaic to Aquileia (Soper, *op. cit.*, note 35).

147. See above p. 202.

148. Aix-en-Provence, Hospital (LeBlant, *Sarc. Gaule*, pl. 52/2); Arles, Musée Lapidaire (Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pl. 12/4, cross destroyed); Rome, S. Paolo f.l.m. (*ibid.*, pl. 17/1, cross partially destroyed); Rome, S. Sebastiano, Museum (*ibid.*, pl. 149); Rome, Lateran Museum (Lawrence, *City-gate*, fig. 25, now in fragments); Saint-Maximin, Church of Ste. Madeleine, Crypt (Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pl. 39/2). On these the Lambs are usually posed frontally, with the cross apparently over their heads. However, the whole scheme is so close to that on the capsella, that a relationship cannot be doubted.

149. In *Nuovo bull. arch. crist.*, 1902, p. 134.

150. Church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian. Garrucci, VI, pl. 484/14.

151. Cabrol, I, 1, fig. 208. Here the cross is definitely on the back of the sheep, as it is on the African capsella. While the date of this is uncertain, and probably late, it is acceptable to suppose this an eastern type, and that the capsella is related to the east as well as to Gaul. Stylistically, however, this is much further away from the capsella than are the Gallic examples.

152. Rome, St. Peter's, Crypt. Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pl. 39. 153. Cabrol, I, 1, fig. 206.

154. Garrucci, VI, pl. 477/16.

155. Wilpert, *Pitture*, pl. 252. This is of fifth century date, and the whole scene of which the Lamb is a part is eastern in inspiration.

156. Cabrol, II, 1, fig. 1546.

157. Church of S. Nicaise. Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, I, fig. 5.

158. Musée d'Archéologie. *Ibid.*, pl. 16/3.

159. Marseilles, Musée d'Archéologie. *Ibid.*, pl. 17/2.

in Marseilles, and, above it, we have the lambs representing the Apostles flanking a monogram (Fig. 27).¹⁶⁰ On this coffin, if we were to transfer the Lamb of God to the upper register, and the monogram to the lower, we should have exactly reproduced both the capsella scenes.

These sarcophagi display the only close parallels to the capsella, but slightly different versions are found: in the baptistery at Naples, whose northern affinities have already been noted;¹⁶¹ in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna;¹⁶² on a very crude bronze plaque found at Kertch in southern Russia;¹⁶³ and in the cemetery of Marcus and Marcellianus in Rome.¹⁶⁴

The capsella, then, is related to north Africa by the fact of its discovery there, by the candles flanking the martyr, and by the type of the architecture of the Holy Cities. On the other hand, it is closely related to north Italy and Gaul by the use of two predominantly Italo-Gallic scenes, the Stags Drinking from the Four Rivers of the Mount, and the Lambs Flanking the Lamb of God. The open *rho* of the monogram is also north Mediterranean and eastern;¹⁶⁵ and the entire appearance of the box suggests the Italo-Gallic schools of silver workers and them alone. In north Africa it is an anomaly; in north Italy or Provence it takes a natural place.

Whether the capsella was actually made in the north according to north African specifications, or whether it was made in north Africa by a Gallic workman cannot be proved. But it is evident that the style, technique, and iconography have their roots in the Italo-Gallic region.

* * *

The silver pyxis from Pola, now in Vienna, is easily placed in our group (Figs. 30 and 32).¹⁶⁶ It displays on the body the standing figures of Christ and five Apostles, and the lid repeats these almost exactly with busts. It is at once evident that the whole decoration of the pyxis is taken over from "Asiatic" sarcophagi, and if we take as a criterion Lawrence's analysis of the "Asiatic" figure style,¹⁶⁷ the relationship becomes striking. Almost without exception the Apostles show the triangular heads with the heavy bulbous top, the prominent nose coupled with vaguely treated other features, the high, large ears, the wiglike hair, the large eye (full-face even in profile heads) with a strong accent on the pupils. Even the small, straight, pouting mouth is retained. The figures keep the "Asiatic" classical postures with their weight on one foot; their proportions are shorter and stockier than with the Latin formula; and they have the characteristic long, easy lines of drapery, and stressing of the various joints. The Christ is the typical "Asiatic" one with long hair that curls outwards at the shoulders. The three busts on the lid with Peter and Paul in full profile to Christ suggest those on the amula of the Museo Sacro and the oblong casket from Grado.

160. Marseilles, St. Victor. *Ibid.*, pl. 8/3.

161. Wilpert, *Mosaiken*, III, pl. 37/1.

162. Garrucci, IV, pl. 232/2. This is one of those stylizations of motif that occur so frequently in late fifth and in sixth century Ravenna.

163. Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro. Photo, Princeton Index of Christian Art.

164. Cabrol, I, 1, fig. 204. Here the deer crane their necks upward to the point above their heads whence the rivers descend as a waterfall. Also to be mentioned is an occurrence in Old St. Peter's (Wilpert, *Mosaiken*, I, fig. 114). Here the deer also stand and drink from waterfall.

like rivers, and here again the date of the composition is so uncertain that it is valueless as evidence.

165. Frantz, A., *The Provenance of the Open Rho in the Christian Monograms*, in *American Journal of Archeology*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 10 ff.

166. Found under the altar on the south side of the cathedral at Pola; now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna. Discussed and described at length by Swoboda, H., in *Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentral-Kommission*, N. F. XVI, 1890, 1 ff.

167. Lawrence, *City-gate*, pp. 34 ff.



FIG. 33—Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro: Silver Cup, c. 5th Century A.D.

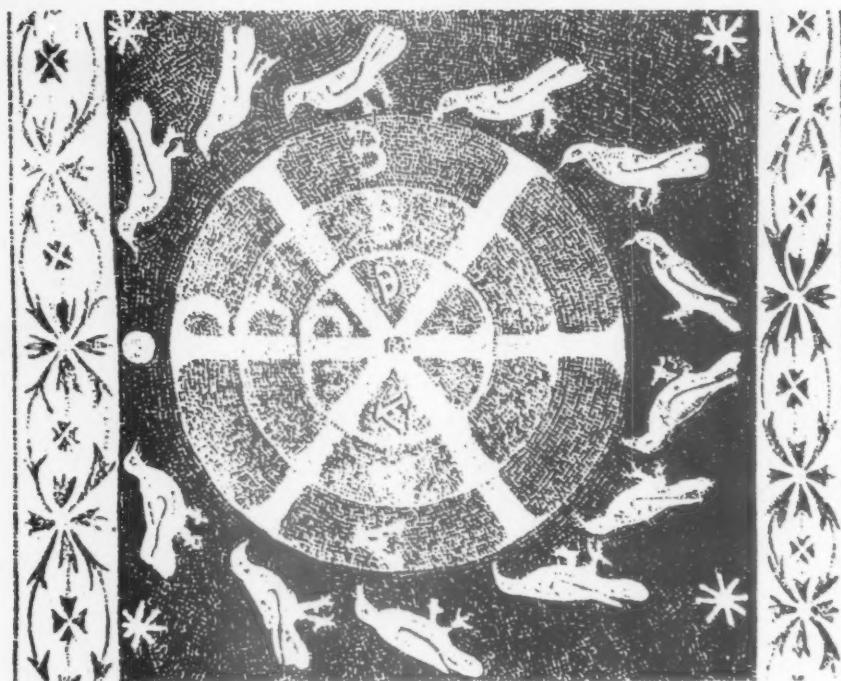


FIG. 37—*Albenga, Baptistry: Mosaic*



FIG. 35—*Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro: Silver Ampulla, Front and Back (Drawing)*

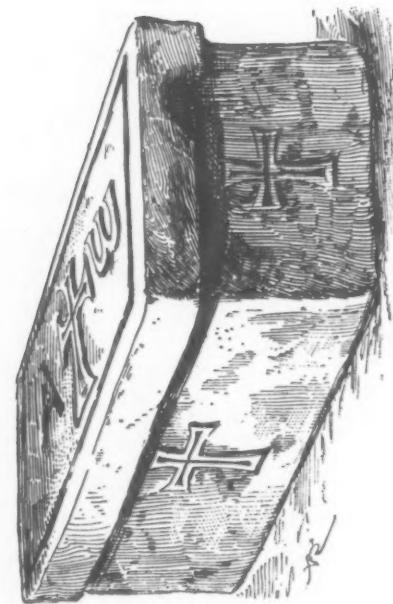


FIG. 36—*Rimini, Museum: Silver Reliquary Chest (Drawing)*



FIG. 34—*Edinburgh, Museum: Silver Vase from Traprain*

Many parallels for individual figures can be found on columnar sarcophagi. The gesture of Paul, with his right hand extended, his right elbow caught in a fold of drapery, and his left hand gathering up his garment, is the almost invariable formula of the sarcophagi. The second Apostle behind Peter holds his scroll in a normal "Asiatic" manner,¹⁶⁸ and close parallels for the pose of the Apostle behind Paul can be found.¹⁶⁹ Finally, the low relief of the figures, with no attempt to indicate background, accords well with the aspect of such north Italian ivories as the Brescia casket.

The pyxis must then be classed with the north Italian and Provençal monuments of the late fourth and early fifth century. Its close relationship with the "Asiatic" sarcophagi may place it with the earlier group of silver objects; and it may serve as a starting point for a more detailed stylistic analysis of the eight silver works we have discussed.

* * *

The casket from Brivio, in the Louvre, is perhaps the earliest in date of the silver under examination. It represents the most interesting combination, without assimilation, of the Latin and "Asiatic" styles. The Christ of the Raising of Lazarus, on the lid, has the slow side movement, the stocky proportions, the prominent nose and eyes, the tight mouth, and the long hair turning out at the shoulders of the "Asiatic" Christ. The right leg, solid, three-dimensional, and well defined through the drapery reminds us of instances on the Brescia Lipsanotheca.¹⁷⁰ However, the eyes of all the figures, while large, have the blank pupils of the Latin tradition; the folds of Christ's drapery to some extent, and of all the others on the box to a much greater extent, are defined by the short, meaningless groovings of the frieze sarcophagi.

As has already been indicated, the scenes are all Latin with certain "Asiatic" variations. The best parallels for the casket are the seven-arch-and-gable sarcophagi that Lawrence has shown to be Gallic and to demonstrate the same conflict of influences.¹⁷¹ These have the same "Asiatic" proportions and poses, and the same Latin grooved drapery. They confine themselves largely to familiar Latin iconography such as is seen on the casket. The crude, spiral fluted columns of the casket might have been taken over directly from any one of a number of seven-arch-and-gable examples.¹⁷²

The particularly crude technique of the Brivio casket suggests perhaps a provincial center of production, and this accords with the iconography and with such a curious misunderstanding of the arch as is seen on the tomb of Lazarus. The date cannot be pushed back too far because of the nimbus of Christ; and the greatest probability is that the casket represents the provincial Gallic style of the last quarter of the fourth century, or the first quarter of the fifth.

The Pola pyxis, as already suggested, is so closely allied to the "Asiatic" sarcophagi that it cannot move very far in either direction from the year 400. It probably, on the higher quality of its technique, comes from a center in Gaul or north Italy larger and more sophisticated than that which produced the Brivio casket. The first quarter of the fifth century is the most likely date, a date approximating to that of the Pola casket, to

168. Here the hands are placed on the bottom and top of the scroll, as opposed to the Roman method of holding the scroll by the middle. While the Roman type is found frequently on columnar as well as frieze sarcophagi, the formula of the pyxis seems confined to the north Medi-

teranean groups (cf. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 14/1, 4, 17/1, 2, 26/1).

169. Wilpert, *ibid.*, pls. 30, 33/2, 124/2, 189/1.

170. Soper, *op. cit.* fig. 58.

171. Lawrence, *Columnar*, pp. 125 ff., 168 ff.

172. *Ibid.*, fig. 29.

whose Apostles Approaching the Empty Throne the Apostles on the pyxis show clear relationships.

In treating the silver vessels formerly in the Bianchini and Strozzi collections, allowance must be made for the idealization of the nineteenth century drawings that form our only records of them. What is evident in both, however, is the "Asiatic" character of the Christs. Drapery, hairdress, and posture connect them irrevocably with the "Asiatic" columnar sarcophagi. The posture and type of the servant on the Bianchini vase is particularly close to the servant in the Miracle at Cana on the Provençal diptych panel in Berlin, and on the Carolingian diptych in the Victoria and Albert Museum that reproduces a Provençal type.¹⁷³ The "Asiatic" caplike hair of the figures other than Christ on the vessels may more tentatively be adduced as evidence; the pose of the blind man on the Strozzi amula is the normal one of columnar sarcophagi,¹⁷⁴ and the pose of Peter on the same work finds its best parallels in the adoring Peter of many "Asiatic" sarcophagi.¹⁷⁵

The style of these two vessels seems close to that of the Pola pyxis, and they may follow its date in the first quarter of the fifth century. The accent on correct proportions and clear-cut three-dimensional form is generally better than in monuments of the later fifth century.

The capsella in the Museo Sacro from north Africa is again a work of high quality, and shows a somewhat different iconography than the silver objects just discussed. The figure of the martyr on the lid is in lower relief than figures on the four previous objects, and has a good deal more incised work. The drapery is generally of the "Asiatic" formula, the pallium caught up from the right leg to the left hip, and an under garment showing at ankle length. It is also treated with the characteristic long, swinging lines. The pose is the typical "Asiatic" one, with the weight resting heavily on the left leg, and the sense of a slow, dignified, sideways movement. The face has the large nose, the large eyes with accent on the pupils, the small, straight mouth described by Lawrence. In fact, the whole figure might be an adoring Apostle from a columnar sarcophagus in more frontal pose. The Apostles Bearing Wreaths, on a seven-arch sarcophagus at Saint-Honorat, show the type from which this was probably derived.¹⁷⁶ The increasing flatness in the treatment of this capsella, the greater interest in heraldic and rhythmic design indicate a date later than that of the preceding group. The developed symbolism is found principally in monuments of the later fifth century, and the capsella may be dated after 425, though not much later than 450. Its relations are once more principally with Gallic monuments; so that stylistically, at least, a Gallic rather than a north Italian origin is probable.

With the amula of the Museo Sacro we are quite obviously moving toward the end of the fifth century. The *repoussé* work is increasingly flat; the interest is almost entirely in low relief, heraldic groupings rather than in the expression of form. The relationships of the amula are largely with late fifth and sixth century Ravennate works, and the probability is that it represents the more accomplished work of a group of silversmiths carrying on their trade in that center. The Christ, with His long, soft hair falling over His shoulders, suggests in many ways the Christ of S. Apollinare Nuovo, though His extremely square jaw and broad, flat face show, still, a relationship to certain columnar sarcophagi.¹⁷⁷ A date for this in the third quarter of the fifth century would not take it too far away from the Pola casket, which it approximates so closely in iconography, and at the same time would explain the greater stylization of treatment.

173. See above, notes 88 and 90.

174. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 228/3, 7.

175. *Ibid.*, pls. 39/1, 2, 121/4, 141/6, 253/5.

176. *Ibid.*, pl. 33/2. See also the sarcophagus in the Lateran from S. Sebastiano (*ibid.*, pl. 18/5).

177. *Ibid.*, pls. 121/4, 266/7.

The two caskets from Grado must be placed at the very end of the fifth century, or even the beginning of the sixth. The parallels already cited between these caskets and the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo may be extended considerably. The Christ of the oblong casket is close in appearance to the beardless Christ of the miracles of S. Apollinare Nuovo.¹⁷⁸ The fringes of hair that give Peter and Paul the appearance of being tonsured are regular occurrences in the various saints and Apostles of the mosaics.¹⁷⁹ The late date of the casket is further shown by the scrupulous attention to the linear quality of the hair, which sharply differentiates this casket from earlier monuments, where the hair is almost invariably treated as a mass.

The similarity in costume of Cantianilla to late fifth and sixth century monuments has already been mentioned, and the Adoration of the Cross on the lid parallels that in the great apse of S. Apollinare in Classe even to the upward turning of the heads of the lambs toward the cross (Fig. 19).¹⁸⁰

The Ravennate relationships of the other casket from Grado have already been sufficiently discussed; and it may reasonably be concluded that these caskets represent Ravennate work of the late fifth or early sixth century. They may be grouped with the amula of the Museo Sacro, though probably later in date.

* * *

I have grouped together eight silver objects that stylistically and iconographically seem to derive from the north Mediterranean area of western Europe between the late fourth and early sixth centuries. These, the most important western Early Christian works in silver, of specifically Christian subject matter, will inevitably draw within their compass other silver works whose provenance is unknown.

While the iconography of the vase from Traprain, now in the Edinburgh Museum, is of the primitive type of frieze sarcophagus, the vase classifies in shape and technique with those discussed above, and may be suggested as an early member of the northern schools (Fig. 34).¹⁸¹ A silver vase in the Museo Sacro is so close in shape to the amula of that museum that it may easily be related to it in origin and date (Fig. 2).¹⁸² If it is included, the cup in the Museo Sacro that approximates it so closely in technique must be added (Fig. 33).¹⁸³ A silver ewer in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is known to come from Aquileia; and as this also classifies in shape with the vessels discussed, and has, as well, the familiar wreath ornament for decoration, it supports the northern provenance of the others. An ampulla in the Museo Sacro that shows Peter and Paul in profile busts within medallions, as well as the rope borders of the amula of the Museo Sacro may be added

178. Anthony, *Mosaics*, pl. 13.

179. *Ibid.*

180. *Ibid.*, pl. 20.

181. See Curle, A. O., *The Treasure of Traprain*, Glasgow, 1923, for a description and discussion of this vase and other silver objects that were found with it. The latter were principally secular and pagan in subject matter. The vase is decorated with a frieze of animals, a leaf and tongue border, scenes of Adam and Eve, Moses Striking Water from the Rock, Adoration of the Magi, and a doubtful scene. Below this is a rope border similar to that of the amula in the Museo Sacro, and a vine border.

182. The height of the vase is 24 cm., its maximum diameter, 7.5 cm.; the foot is broken away as are also the top of the neck and the lip. It is cast, wrought, incised, and inlaid; the handle is soldered to the body, and the circles

surrounding the vase are incised. The incised and inlaid inscription on the neck reads: +MERCURUS/+ET REDIP TA/VIVATIS. The neck is decorated with five grooved circles, each bounded by a pair of incised lines. Between the fourth and fifth on the side opposite the handle, is an inlaid cross. Two more circles of the same cast surround the lower part.

183. Number 707. The height is 8 cm., the diameter 8.2 cm. The side is broken out, the rim cracked in five places. It is wrought silver in one piece. Between the border of two incised lines on each side is the inscription in incised letters +PETIBIETACCIPIVOT... SOL... (Petibi (petivi) et accipi (accepi) vot(um) sol(vi); "I prayed and my prayer was answered; I have paid my vow.")

(Fig. 35),¹⁸⁴ as may also, more tentatively, a reliquary from Rimini, simply decorated with crosses and *alpha* and *omega* (Fig. 36).¹⁸⁵

If all these silver objects belong in north Italy and Gaul, the north Mediterranean area is established as the leader in the production of Christian silver works, as well as in the production of sarcophagi and ivories, during the late fourth and in the fifth century.¹⁸⁶

184. Garrucci, VI, pl. 435/3.

185. Now in the Museum at Rimini. Cabrol, III, 1, fig. 2691.

186. The present paper has as well enlarged Soper's arguments concerning the iconographic originality of the north by focusing in that area a number of symbolic "adoration" schemes: the cross or monogram and doves, the cross or monogram and lambs, the Lamb of God and lambs, the Four Rivers and the deer, etc. An investigation of the religious background of this symbolism is now in process, and enough evidence has already been gathered to support strongly the possibility that these forms actually originated

in the north Italian church of the late fourth century and were not imported from the east.

This essay is the first part of a projected catalogue of Early Christian silver that will attempt to classify the large number of silver objects of that period that exist. Subsequent papers will deal with monuments decorated with pagan and secular subject matter, such as the famous Esquiline Treasure in the British Museum, whose provenance has never been satisfactorily settled. It is hoped that a thorough study of the extant silver of eastern and western Europe produced during the Early Christian period will clarify further the complex stylistic and iconographic interactions of the Greek east, north Italy, Gaul, and Rome.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

"HOMO BULLA"

There is one point in Mr. Janson's fascinating study, *The Putto with the Death's Head*, published in this periodical some time ago¹ which requires some correction and amplification. While trying to supplement his article in this one respect I should like to emphasize the great value of such excellent work on iconographical problems as he has provided.

On p. 447 note 92 of his paper Janson assumes that the saying "Man is a bubble" (*Homo Bulla*, πομφόλνξ δινθωτός), although it is found as an inscription on pictures by Joos van Cleve and his circle, was not represented in art until H. Goltzius combined this motif with the one of the Putto with the Death's Head on his engraving reproduced by the author in fig. 21.² In reality a representation of this subject considerably prior to Goltzius is due to another master of Dutch late Mannerism, in fact to the one who is mentioned and highly praised by van Mander as the most inventive of all as regards allegorical compositions, Cornelis Ketel. A small circular portrait by Ketel in the collection of Mr. I. de Bruyn at Spiez (Switzerland),³ painted in 1574 (thus during Ketel's stay in England) shows on its back the representation illustrated on this page: A husky putto standing against a cloudy sky on a ground covered with grass and tiny underbrush, blowing bubbles from a small vessel in his right hand; the inscription above runs: ΠΟΜΦΩΛΤΞ Ο ΑΝΩΡΩΠΟΣ. The fact that this representation occurs on the reverse of a portrait is apt to provide us with some rather interesting clues as to the history of this allegory.

Janson mentions the fact that the comparison of human life with bubbles is already to be found in Lucian. But Lucian, although very pleased with himself because of his nice elaboration of this allegory,⁴ was by no means its inventor. It is quoted as a proverb as early as about the year 36 B.C. by Marcus Terentius Varro in his *De Re Rustica* when he says (at the very beginning of his work): "My dear Fundania, if I had leisure I would give a better form to this treatise. As I have not, I will do what a man may who has to bear in mind the need of haste. Man is a bubble, they say; in which case the proverb must be the more true of an old man. And I am in my eightieth year, which warns me to pack up my baggage in readiness to journey out of this

1. *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIX, pp. 423 ff.

2. Janson, citing this print as "after Goltzius" from Bartsch's Catalogue, failed to notice that O. Hirschmann in his more recent standard work on Goltzius' engravings (*Verzeichnis des graphischen Werks von H. Goltzius*, Leipzig, 1921, no. 110) has rightly restored this engraving to Goltzius himself and has mentioned as many as nine copies after it proving its extreme popularity. One of these copies bears the inscription "Homo Bulla," another one: "Unser leben blühet wie die rosen und verschwünt wie eine seuffen blosen" (our life blooms like the roses and vanishes like a soap bubble).

3. For the portrait compare: *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Old Masters*, Frankfurt, 1926, no. 112; W. S. Stechow in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIII, 1929/30, p. 200; O. Götz, in *Städels Jahrbuch VII/VIII*, Frankfurt, 1932, p. 145.

4. For a short summary of Lucian's handling of the subject in *Charon* see Frederick Parkes Weber, *Aspects of Death*, . . . 2nd edition, New York, 1920, p. 526. The splendid edition of Lucian's works of 1790 (*Luciani Samostetensis Opera Graece et Latine*—Biponti, ex typographia Societatis, vol. III, p. 57) contains an "Annotatio" on p. 402 which provided me with the references to Varro, Suida, and Erasmus, discussed here.

world."⁵ About 1000 A.D. we find this saying included in the *Lexicon* compiled by the Byzantine author Suida who, according to his most recent commentator and editor, seems to have picked it up from the excerpts of Constantine Porphyrogenitos.⁶

As to the revival of this proverb in Renaissance literature and art, I believe I can identify the author responsible for it; it is in fact the one from whom we may expect the introduction of such an antique proverb into Renaissance literature: Erasmus of Rotterdam. In his *Adagia* (first published at Paris in 1500 containing 838 items, enlarged to the num-



ber of 3260 at Venice in 1508) he has dedicated a long paragraph to this saying, carefully expanded (in 1508) into a funeral speech on Philip the Handsome of Burgundy and a Venetian friend Paolo Canal (Decanal), who by means of their premature death (both died in 1506) had lent themselves to such literary delicacies as are likely to have made a great impression on Erasmus' contemporaries.⁷ Granting

5. The translation is from: Lloyd Storr-Best, *Varro on Farming*, London, 1912. The original runs: "Potius (or: Si otium) essem consecutus, Fundania, commodius tibi haec scriberem, quae nunc, ut potero, exponam cogitans esse properandum, quod, ut dicitur, si est homo bulla, eo magis senex. Annus enim octogenimus admonet me ut sarcinas conligam, antequam proficiscar e vita."

6. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Ada Adler, Leipzig, 1928, IV, p. 170 and I, p. 19 with reference to de Boor, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXI, pp. 381 ff. and XXIII, pp. 1 ff. The main passage follows: ὁσπερ πομφόλνξ φαγεῖσα ἀφανίσεται, οὐτω μνήμη ὑπερφάνου διλνται μετὰ ζάντον.

7. Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, Leyden, 1703, II, pp. 500-503, *Adagium Chil. II, Centur. III, Prog. XLVIII*, i.e. no. 1248 (nr. 1252 of the Aldine edition of Sept. 1508). Compare the characteristic phrase at the end: "Sed jam dudum tempus est, ut his omissis ad institutum negocium recurrat oratio, ne quis merito calumniari possit, nos in mediis adagiis declamare." Erasmus quotes Varro as well as Lucian. For Paolo Canal see: P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, V, Oxford, 1924, p. 245, note 252.

this, one would not be surprised to find the inscription "Homo Bulla" exactly at Antwerp about 1520, in the very surroundings of such artists as maintained the closest relationship with Erasmus: Dürer and Quentin Massys.⁸ But there is more evidence as to the connection of the "Homo Bulla" conception with Erasmus. As I mentioned before, the allegory painted by Ketel is found on the reverse of a circular portrait of an Englishman who unfortunately has not hitherto been identified (his age is given as 35 years in 1574 hence he was born in 1538 or 1539). The frame surrounding the portrait bears an inscription which runs: "Sermo Dei aeternus, Caetera omnia caduca." The peculiar characteristics of a portrait in circular format with inscription in front and an allegory on the frailty of human life on the back, cannot fail to remind one of Quentin Massys' famous medal on Erasmus himself cast in 1519.⁹ Here, too, we have his portrait in front, surrounded by inscriptions (in this case the name of the sitter and: THN KPEITTΩ TA ΣΤΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΔΕΙΞΕΙ), and a "Memento mori" on the reverse (in this case combined with Erasmus' main device: in the field the "Terminus" with "Concedo nulli" and in the margin the legend: OPA ΤΕΛΟΣ ΜΑΚΡΟΤΗΤΩΝ. "Mors ultima linea rerum"). In this great masterpiece Massys had taken up and developed to the highest perfection what Italian tradition had handed down to him; I think there can hardly be any doubt that the form of Ketel's picture goes back, in some way or other, to Massys' medal. It is of course tempting to assume that the mediator between Massys and Ketel was Holbein, especially as Ketel painted his portrait in England, and Holbein was fond of doing medal-like miniatures, even with painted reverses; but I have not been able to find an instance of Holbein having painted a "Memento mori" on the reverse of a portrait of his. The connection of Ketel's work with the medal tradition is strengthened by the fact that the same combination of a portrait in front and the "Homo Bulla" allegory in the form of a putto blowing bubbles on the reverse is found about 1634 on a German medal illustrated by F. P. Weber,¹⁰ its inscription running: "Omnes bullae sum(us) instar." This brings us back to the point that the motif of the putto blowing bubbles represents in itself a very ingenious adaptation of the old "Adagium." Neither the antique sources nor Erasmus had mentioned the putto or even soap bubbles expressly. As for the putto we have obviously to do with an influence from the Cupid with the Death's Head as illustrated in the anonymous Standing Putto reproduced by Janson in fig. 20; the introduction of soap bubbles (instead of the waterbubbles of the tradition, compare especially Lucian) seems in turn to be an adjustment to the putto, i.e., children's motif—an adjustment of striking convincingness. Is it due to a painter, possibly to Ketel himself, the one famous for his inexhaustible inventiveness in allegories? This seems highly probable considering the particularly visional requirements of this adjustment. From Weber's quotations it would seem that

8. The paintings containing the inscription "Homo Bulla" are now mostly referred to Joos van Cleve but they are at the same time closely connected with the style of Dürer (Lisbon Jerome of 1521), Quentin and Jan Massys, and Marinus van Royerswaele; cf. Janson pp. 431 ff. and his notes 33 and 92.

9. Compare F. P. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 488 ff., also E. Tietze-Conrat, *Erasmus von Rotterdam im Bilde*, in *Kunst in Holland*, vol. VIII. For the interpretation of the "Terminus" as a "Memento mori" see Erasmus' letter to Valdesius of Aug. 1, 1528, reprinted in: Emil Major, *Erasmus von Rotterdam (Virorum illustrium Reliquiae*, vol. I), Basel, s.a., p. 29 (a portrait of Erasmus with a skull reproduced on pl. 12), and E. Wind in: *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937/38, pp. 66 ff. Cf. also Ketel's arrangement of the inscription on the profiled frame with Holbein's Erasmus portrait in woodcut (Major, *op. cit.*, p. 28 and O. Götz, *loc. cit.*, p. 137; unfortunately the latter article does not contain any enlightening material concerning the iconographical problems of the reverses of circular portraits).

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 525.

the reference to the putto blowing bubbles was introduced into poetry only quite some time after Ketel. Until then, a different use had been made of the "Bulla" conception; Lord Bacon's formula as quoted by Weber: "The World's a bubble," finds its parallel in the pictorial adaptation mentioned by Janson: "The translucent sphere as the image of the world," occurring from Jerome Bosch until the middle of the sixteenth century; whereas with William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585-1649) Weber found: "This life, which seems so fair / Is like a bubble blown up in the air / By sporting children's breath."¹¹

The fact, already mentioned by Janson, that the representation of children blowing bubbles was turning into a mere genre motif in Dutch painting of the seventeenth century seems to be worth a thorough investigation based upon as much material as accessible. Judging from what I have seen and from Hofstede de Groot's *Catalogue Raisonné* there would not seem to exist as many examples of this representation as Janson assumed.¹² In addition, quite a number of these pictures retain or at least betray their allegorical origin and might have conveyed its meaning to the public of those times much more distinctly than it would seem to us today. I confine myself to mentioning the following examples: A painting by Jan van Bronchorst (1935 on the Cologne art market, formerly in the Wesendonck Collection) which shows four real putti (one of them winged) blowing and catching bubbles near a classical altar upon which the traditional fire is still burning; a picture by C. Netscher in the National Gallery, London (dated 1670, reproduced in *Illustrations to the Catalogue*), where the boy's eyes follow the rising bubbles (blown by a girl) with a sentimental expression that certainly alludes to the original meaning of the proverb (compare Goltzius' print); a painting by Slingelandt, dated 1661, in Florence (reproduced in the de luxe edition of Hofstede de Groot's *Catalogue Raisonné*), where the girl points to the bubbles with an obvious indication of the significance of the content; whereas a picture attributed to N. Maes, but probably due to a different artist (reproduced in W. R. Valentiner, *N. Maes*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, pl. vii) does furnish an example of the original meaning being entirely discarded for the sake of an exclusive (and rather shallow) genre effect.

WOLFGANG STECHOW

IN VENICE WITH TURNER. By A. J. Finberg. xv, 184 pp.; 30 pls. London, The Cotswold Gallery. £4. 4s.

Finberg established himself as a foremost authority on Turner by his official publication of 1909: *A Complete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest*. The book under review represents no decline from the high scholarship of the earlier publication, and is formulated as a readable account of Turner's contribution so far as Venetian material is concerned. Its chief biographical contribution is the establishing of 1819 as the date of Turner's first visit to Venice. Its chief critical contributions are demonstrations that Turner was regarded most highly as a marine painter during his lifetime and that the contrast between his late phase and his earlier work has heretofore been habitually overstated.

Although the book is written in an easy style with everything that might suggest pedantry suppressed or relegated

11. E. Panofsky ("Et in Arcadia ego," in: *Philosophy and History, Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer*, Oxford 1936, p. 241) has suggested that the bubble motif, in the particular case of Poussin's "Ballo della Vita Humana," might have been inspired by the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, written probably by Francesco Colonna in 1467, first published in Venice in 1499. This has been doubted by A. Blunt, in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937/38, p. 135.

12. *Loc. cit.*, p. 447: "One of the favorite subjects of Dutch painting during the Baroque period."

to the important appendices, the reader is aware in every chapter of the remarkable equipment Finberg has brought to his task. In the first place the author was already possessed of the most intimate acquaintance with the material in the Turner bequest. This enabled him to extract the maximum amount of information from the sketchbooks. He gives a connected account of Turner's three journeys to Venice, whereas, formerly, we were in doubt how often, how long, and when Turner had visited Venice. In the second place, Finberg shows a commendable knowledge of the literary life of Turner's time. What he has to say of such personalities as Byron and Moore is delightful reading and the many sidelights on Ruskin and other critics are of considerable value to the student of art criticism. It is regrettable that we do not more frequently encounter a monograph bearing, as this one does, the evidence of being written by and for people of general culture, and that the average literary quality of art books is so low. Surely publishers would welcome the wider distribution that better writing, even without the unusual support of such beautiful color plates as this book has, would insure. In the third place, Finberg took the pains to go over Turner's route in Venice with reasonable care and to compare Turner's recording with the scenes recorded in the sketches and pictures. It is inevitable that a former resident of Venice should be able to find errors made by no matter how conscientious a visitor. I cite a startling one that occurs in the discussion of the famous picture *Juliet and Her Nurse* (the italics are mine):

Now the view is certainly astonishingly accurate, but Turner has taken liberties with the position of at least one important building. The Mint actually adjoins the Old Library, but if it had been put in its proper place it would have blocked out our sight of the Molo and the two columns on the Piazzetta. Turner has therefore detached it and moved it *several hundred yards* down into the Palace Gardens.

Nevertheless, Finberg is generally accurate, and needfully on his guard against Turner's own egregious mislabeling.

The enthusiasm of the British (and of that coterie of Americans who fancy British art) for Turner is in marked contrast to the general apathy toward him in other quarters. If some other country were involved we might be able to dismiss the phenomenon as another manifestation of nationalism. But British critical judgment has notoriously been less clouded by nationalism than that of other European countries, and the great public and private collections of Britain are the happy consequence. We have to respect the British estimate of Turner and seek for an explanation. The material in this book suggests one: perhaps Turner, too, is primarily an illustrator. That would account for British admiration. Given the British partiality to illustration and the lucky exception by which an illustrator is usually a prophet not without honor in his own country, Turner's status would be explained. It is true we popularly think of illustration as something linear, and Turner is mainly associated with color in our minds. But color can illustrate too; in fact it is hard to think of illustrating Venetian themes properly without it. Besides, Turner did an enormous amount of work in line, not only his pencil sketches but his other graphic work, including illustrations for a variety of books.

The suggestion that Turner be regarded as an illustrator will not find favor among those enthusiasts who wish to foist upon him the paternity of Impressionism. But Finberg effectively refutes their claim by pointing out that Turner had neither the program nor the technique of Impressionism. How unlike the Impressionists Turner was is shown most clearly by what Finberg says about Turner's Venice: "His Venice is the city of an Englishman's memories and dreams; a strange fantastic place, a sort of material fairyland filled with unfamiliar and delightful

sights and, sensations; the Venice, one might say, of the English tourist of the first quarter of the nineteenth century." This Venice, it seems to me, is the Venice of the illustrator.

It was the illustrator in Turner that devised those unexpected entries for his paintings in the catalogues of the Royal Academy. In 1837 the catalogue read:

31. Scene—a street in Venice.
Antonio. Hear me yet, good Shylock.
Shylock. I'll have my bond.—
Merchant of Venice, Act III, Sc. 3.

In 1840:

55. Venice, the Bridge of Sighs.
 "I stood upon a bridge, a palace and
 A prison on each hand."—*Byron.*

In 1843:

129. The sun of Venice going to sea.
 "Fair shines the morn, and soft the zephyrs blow,
 Venezia's fisher spreads his painted sail so gay,
 Nor heeds the demon that in grim repose
 Expects his evening prey."—
Fallacies of Hope, MS.

In 1844:

356. Approach to Venice.
 "The path lies o'er the sea invisible,
 And from the land we went
 As to a floating city, steering in,
 And gliding up her streets as in a dream,
 So smoothly, silently."—*Rogers' Italy.*
 "The moon is up, and yet it is not night,
 The sun as yet disputes the day with her."—
Byron.

Other titles unaccompanied by quotations are more or less suggestive of an illustrator's point of view, such as in 1833:

109. Bridge of Sighs, Ducal Palace and Custom-House, Venice; Canaletti painting.

And in 1841:

277. Depositing of John Bellini's three pictures in La Chiesa Redentore, Venice.

Nor was this practice of Turner's confined to Venetian subjects; for instance he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1820 a picture entitled: *Rome, from the Vatican. Raffaello accompanied by La Fornarina, preparing his pictures for the decoration of the Loggia.*

Once we come to see the importance of the illustrator in Turner his historical position in British painting and his enviable stature in British criticism can appear perfectly normal. Without pretending thereby to have accounted for his genius or to have exhausted his personality, and without desiring to expand the concept of illustrator to include all of his work, we may nevertheless have an explanation of his fame in England, which is, of course, further due in part to the mere amount and accessibility of his works. We may also be enabled to see him correctly as the end of a movement, a kind of highly differentiated late master of what is sometimes called classical landscape, rather than as the initiator of a new movement, which both the subsequent history of painting in England and his comparative lack of influence elsewhere definitely show he was not.

JOHN SHAPLEY

CESARE FERRO. By E. Lugaro. 136 pp.; 58 figs., 74 pls.
Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arte Grafiche, 1935.

America, that is North America, is about the only large corner of the world where the work of Cesare Ferro has remained unknown. He was active in the Far East, in Siam. He sojourned in Australia. He had South American clients; but we seem to have overlooked him. Had he been

more astonishing as were some of his futurist compatriots, even Turinese ones, he would perhaps have attracted our attention. As a perfectly normal representative of the conservative wing of modern art he escaped the sort of publicity that would have brought him to our notice.

In Italy itself Ferro did not bask in the sunshine of first-rate prominence. There as here this book will come to many as the first impressive revelation of an overlooked painter. It is true that after Ferro's death in 1934 Turin had a commemorative exhibition at the Accademia Albertina, of which he had been president. Not only did this fail of attention outside of Italy, but even there it unfortunately conflicted with more engrossing subjects of attention at the time. Lugaro's publication is therefore for most readers a first introduction to the oeuvre of an outstanding contemporary. Happily the reproductions, a score of which are in color, are good enough to convey some notion of Ferro's art even to eyes that have never seen anything of it in the original.

Lugaro is aware of the difficulty of writing a critique of his friend which will prove sound enough for record in a monumental book of this sort, and he sticks circumspectly to biography and description, with a decorous admixture of eulogy. The short final chapter of his text is, indeed, entitled: *L'arte di Cesare Ferro*. But its net content is that Ferro was a man of wide interests and catholic taste—really nothing more specific. I would be bolder and characterize Ferro as essentially a painter of persons. For much of his work is straight portraiture, avowed or otherwise. There are innumerable portraits of members of his household, and when he was painting a model for some allegorical, literary, or historical theme, he portrayed the individual model—at least he conveyed an impression of an individual personality. Thus his figures are not merely figures, they are people; his dancers are this dancer and that dancer. His humanized landscapes are often replete with portrait studies. Even when he painted a still life a mirror might contain a portrait. Behind this tendency to portray lies an extreme objectivity, which is revealed most strikingly when it happens to be in contrast with imaginative or mythological subjects and, which gives his painting more probity than poetry. As an observer and technician Ferro stands thus in strong relief against the subjectivity that has characterized so much of twentieth century painting.

JOHN SHAPLEY

LES TABLEAUX DU GRECO DE LA COLLECTION ROYALE DE ROUMANIE. By A. Busuioceanu. 30 pp.; 24 pls. Brussels, Editions de la Connaissance, 1937.

FRANCISCO DE GOYA: THE DISASTERS OF THE WAR. Introduction by Elie Faure. 14 pp.; 83 pls. New York, Oxford University Press, 1937.

These two volumes of plates attest the perennial interest in the art of Spain whetted somewhat by current events. Their purpose is to make conveniently available material for which there is a demand in every library. The reproductions in both are excellent and the *raison d'être* of publication; the introductory texts are brief.

The painstaking introduction by Busuioceanu has already appeared in a less complete version in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* for May, 1934, and therefore requires no comment here. It was published in full concurrently with this volume in Roumanian: *El Greco in colectia regala*, Bucarest, 1937.

Some half dozen paragraphs by Faure prefixed to the Goya plates can be dismissed with equal brevity. By now everyone is aware of the ease and eloquence with which Faure writes. Fifty years ago Müntz was doing the same with far greater scholarship, yet he is nearly forgotten today.

The illustrations, however, speak for themselves. In view of the inaccessibility of these particular pictures in

Roumania the student of El Greco will be especially indebted to Busuioceanu for including many details among his plates. And a handy volume of Goya's *Disasters* reproduced in actual size is something which will prove for all its possessors an unfailing source of spiritual nourishment.

JOHN SHAPLEY

THE WALL-PAINTINGS OF INDIA, CENTRAL ASIA, AND CEYLON. A Comparative Study, with an Introductory Essay on the Nature of Buddhist Art by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. By Benjamin Rowland, Jr. xiv, 94 pp.; 6 pls., 30 pls. in color. Boston, The Merrymount Press, 1938.

Almost half the text of this study is occupied by the learned introductory essay on the nature of Buddhist art, wherein Dr. Coomaraswamy seeks to prove the entirely symbolic character of the anthropomorphic representation of Buddha. This author, intimately familiar both with the relevant Indian literature and with the mystic literature of the West from antiquity to the Middle Ages, makes plausible and convincing use of his knowledge. Coomaraswamy is right when asserting (p. 4) that the problems of Buddhist art are "rather those of Indian art in a Buddhist application, and in the last analysis the problems of art universally." He dwells then on the aniconic character of early Buddhist art, a well-known fact, and proves that the roots of this reach back into Vedic ritual. The restraint upon the presentation of Buddha in human shape would have been clarified had the author pointed out that this attitude was reserved solely for the last existence of the Tathāgata; when illustrating the Jātakas, the stories of Buddha's former lives, the sculptor did not shrink at all from giving him the likeness of man, in case the story demanded it. It is true that it is a central problem "how it came about that the Buddha has been represented at all in an anthropomorphic form"; but I should rather say that this is not the central problem of Buddhist art, but of Buddhist theology.

Coomaraswamy says twice that a need must have been actually felt for a representation in human form, and that this was the case at about the beginning of the Christian era. This phenomenon cannot, I think, be explained only by evidence referring to India. It is certainly not pure accident that it happened just at that Christian epoch, and in a definite area. It seems to me to be inseparably connected with the advent and spread of the Sakas and Kushāns in Northwestern and Northern India. I still regard as the earliest monument the Bimārān reliquary, despite the efforts made by Rowland in *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 387 ff., to discount the extraordinarily well established circumstances of its discovery. It is certainly but a slip made in the ardor of argument when Coomaraswamy refers to Buddha images as "invariably represented iconographically as supported by a lotus" (p. 29), for a scholar of his vast knowledge of monuments is, of course, as aware as anybody else that only very few Buddha figures were placed on a lotus socle before the sixth century A.D. But it set me wondering what specific meaning might have been attached to those few representations; very likely Amitābha is pictured. In any event, this essay of Coomaraswamy's belongs among the best ever written about the religious aspect of Buddhist art.

The aim of the publication proper is stated in the foreword by A. Townshend Johnson: "It has been our purpose to take advantage of the utility of having examples of Buddhist painting in one volume to allow by selection and arrangement a study of the interrelation and growth of the various styles . . ."

The explanatory text to the plates was written by Dr. Benjamin Rowland, Jr.; each group, Mirān, Bāmiyān, Ajantā, Bāgh, Badami, Ceylon, Bezeklik, and China is

headed by a quite extensive introduction on the history of the site and the position of its works within the wider complex of Buddhist painting. Each plate is described and the pertinent problems discussed.

Pl. 1 shows a worshipper and a garland bearer from Shrine V at Mirān, far east on the southern route of Central Asia leading from Khotān to Tun-huang. Rowland is right in describing these wall paintings as the easternmost examples of late antique art, and in comparing the piece with the Fayyum portraits. These frescoes are the work of a Westerner calling himself Titus whom fate had led far beyond the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, the home of this variety of Roman *Reichsstil*. This means, however, that these pictures are not especially significant for Central Asia, nor for "Graeco-Buddhist" painting; they only demonstrate the international character of the traders and their company, and are the jetsam brought to Mirān by the waves of commerce.

Pls. 2-14 are devoted to the paintings in the caves at Bāmiyān where the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan has been working since 1922. The site has been famous throughout Asia during a millennium and a half for the two colossal Buddha statues, 53 m. and 35 m. high, around which the cliff is honeycombed with caves. Rowland, who rightly pays much attention to the question of date, is of the opinion that the time when the two giant figures were hewn out can be deduced on the basis of style, and that this time then serves as a *terminus ante quem*. I should think, rather, that it provides a *terminus post quem*, in view of his saying: "It seems likely, furthermore, that the painting would logically have been carried out as soon as the statue was complete" (p. 51). Using *ante* instead of *post* is certainly a slip, but a very embarrassing one, the more so, as another one occurs in the same paragraph when the date of the Lucknow Buddha (549-550) is given as 449-450 A. D., thus making the confusion complete. The author thinks that the smaller Buddha is not earlier than 450 A. D. and that the larger one dates from the fifth or sixth century. The paintings of the niche of the 35 m. Buddha and those of groups B, C, and D, situated around this statue, are considered by Rowland as works of one period, dating from the time of a Hepthalite prince, Sri Vāsudeva, who reigned from 595 to 627 A. D. (p. 62). The reasons given for dating these groups at this epoch are, first, that the coins of Sri Vāsudeva display a headdress copying those of Khusrau II (590-628) which, according to the author, appear on the summit of the ogee arches in the dome of the Assembly Hall, Group C (pl. 4), and have as countermark a boar's head; a boar's head is, among other motives, painted on the ceiling of the Vestibule, Group D (pl. 5). Secondly, in discussing a painting from Group B, Rowland says that "the decoration in and around the niches of the two colossi were done at the same period by workers of Iranian and Indian origin" (p. 63). The reasons "that the pictorial ensembles of the two great Buddhas are chronologically and stylistically related [are that] on the back wall of the niche of the 115 foot [35 m.] image are badly damaged fragments of Buddhas under Bodhi trees that are in exactly the same style as the well-known examples of this type in the niche of the large colossus" (pp. 69 f.).

I do not think it advisable to draw too heavily on the argument involving the boar's head, which is too weak a basis for a chronological structure. On the other hand the discovery of the winged and ribboned crescent upholding a tiny globe, in the *décor* of the Assembly Hall, Group C, is much to the credit of Rowland, though in pl. 4 of his book it is not possible to make the motive out beyond doubt, nor in the corresponding plates 7-9 in J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, Paris, 1933; it is a pity that no drawing of this important ornament has been included. But the reference to the coin of Khusrau II in F. Sarre, *Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin,

1922, pl. 143, fig. 13, is not to the point, as the emblem of this king consists of a crescent surmounted by a star; and the famous silver salver in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which is also cited (*ib.*, pl. 107), does not represent Khusrau II, but Firuz (457-484 A. D.). Further material bearing on this subject will be found in the paper by Kurt Erdmann: *Das Datum des Tāk-i-Bustān*, in *Ars Islamica*, 1937, pp. 79 ff.

That the paintings of Bāmiyān are related to those of Kuchā, especially to the wall paintings in the Ming-Öi of Kyzil, was recognized from the beginning. But it is Rowland's merit to have studied them closely and circumspectly thus enabling him to tell which paintings are related to Kuchā, and in what respects. I think he is right in saying: "Together with the decorations of Cave I the frescoes in the niche of the Great Buddha are actually the closest in point of style to the cycle at Kyzil. Such paintings as the 'Queen's dance' from the Rudrāyāna story in the 'Treasure Cave' and the 'Maya Cave' have the same combination of Indian and Sasanian forms, the same symbolic-plastic use of light and shade as these late works at Bāmiyān." Speaking of the Bodhisattva on the soffit of the niche of the 53 m. Buddha at Bāmiyān, the author even finds that "the figure of the Bodhisattva, too, in physical type and, again, notably in the orange shading of the torso, seems a work of the same school as the Buddhas in the 'Peacock Cave' at Kyzil" (p. 68). Who gave and who received is correctly stated: "It is evident, at all events, that, although probably not separated by any great space of time, it was the cycle of painting at Bāmiyān that influenced these works at Kyzil and even further east along the avenue of caravan and pilgrim" (p. 48). This road led to Tun-huang, "the Westernmost, and hence the first Chinese site to receive the onrushing flood of Indian culture, [where] the paintings of the Six Dynasties period in Caves 111 and 135 have the same Indian forms with heavily shaded outlines that we have studied in the niche of the Great Buddha at Bāmiyān" (p. 91). When, in 1931, I gave a tentative chronology of the caves of Tun-huang in a paper of wider range (*Die Raumdarstellung in der chinesischen Malerei des ersten Jahrtausends*, in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N. F. VIII) I pointed out that the caves decorated between c. 450 and 550 A. D. are, in their paintings, wholly dependent on the so-called Thokharian style of Kuchā. Cave 135 may be safely ascribed to the period 520-540 A. D. Cave 111 belongs definitely to the second half of the fifth century. Sculpture and painting of this cave use the language of form spoken at Kuchā. Moreover, the wall paintings are done in what may be described as a direct derivation of the "second style" of Kuchā, and of its very latest phase at that. The change from the first to the second style around Kuchā was long ago admirably described by Alfred Grünwedel; that it required time is obvious. At any rate, the second half of the fifth century is the *terminus ante quem* of this evolution.

Now the "Pfauenhöhle" (Peacock Cave) and the "Schatzhöhle" (Treasure Cave), named by Rowland as closest in style to Bāmiyān were decorated in the first style. These caves are not, I believe, "generally dated about 650 A. D.," as the author boldly states. Waldschmidt ranges them, in his *Tabellarische Übersicht*, in *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, Berlin, 1932, p. 29, correctly under Style I, and assigns them to "c. 500 A. D." Even this is too late, for the reasons indicated above. I need not explain what this means to Rowland's conclusions. It is very unfortunate that the date of the visit paid by the Korean priest Hui-ch'ao to Bāmiyān is given on p. 49 as "a century after Hsüan-tsang" (who was there in 629 A. D.), on p. 50 as "827 A. D.," on p. 55 as "eighth century," and on p. 90 as "early ninth century." Hui-ch'ao visited Bāmiyān in 727 A. D.

Pl. 29 shows a well-known group of monks the provenience of which is given in the heading on p. 88 as "from

the Ming-Öi Site, Kharashar, Western Turkestan," whereas in the text (p. 93) it is referred to as "from Ming-Öi from the Khotan region." That this is not a mere slip becomes clear when the author goes on to say that it "corresponds remarkably well to the description of the style of the Khotanese Wei-chih I-seng," a painter working in China in the second quarter of the seventh century. This is too much, since the fragment actually comes from Shorchuk near Kharashar, which is situated in the north-western corner of Eastern Turkestan, Western Turkestan lying to the west of the Pamirs; it has, therefore, nothing to do with Khotan, nor with the Khotanese painter, its style indicating that it is a typical work of Uigur painting, dating from the tenth century. A glance at pl. 30 suffices to convince one.

Rowland is whipping a dead horse when discussing at length the various theories about the probable nationality of the artist who painted the famous frescoes in the Kondö of the Höryüji. Most of the scholars in the field agree that they are the work of a Chinese, and that they have their exact counterparts in the wonderful Paradises of Cave 146 in Tun-huang, as, indeed, I have previously pointed out (*op. cit.*, pl. 11, p. 218).

What Rowland writes about painting in India and Ceylon is more convincing. He is familiar with the literature on the subject and finds remarkably fine words when describing the charm and beauty of these works. With very little left of ancient Indian painting the problems for the art historian are almost simple compared with the extraordinarily complex problems in Central Asia.

The author was evidently hurried when writing his text. Had he been permitted, by himself or others, to ponder over his material a couple of years and to examine the literature dealing with its manifold aspects, the result would have been much more satisfactory. But, according to the foreword, the idea of publishing this book was conceived in the spring of 1936; then the authors traveled to Bamiyan and through India, and, in the first days of February, 1938, the volume was out. This is quick work, as is revealed to the book's disadvantage. In conclusion, it remains to say that the book is very well printed and the plates excellent.

LUDWIG BACHHOFER

ORIENTAL ART IN AMERICA. RECENT ACQUISITIONS IN AMERICAN MUSEUMS. viii pp.; 48 pls. with descriptive text. Chicago, New Orient Society, 1937. \$7.50.

It was a very good idea to bring the most important recent acquisitions of American museums together and to present them to the public in excellent reproductions. The project speaks well for the progressiveness of the New Orient Society. The geographical, historical, and material range of the objects chosen is very wide. Paintings, sculptures, and works of applied art from the second millennium B. C. to the eighteenth century A. D. are represented—from the Near East, the Far East, India, and Farther India. The text is confined to minimum essentials: subject matter, material, provenance, date, dimensions, and bibliographical notices. As the preface states, the idea is to furnish material to the student of Eastern art from which he may form his own conclusions. This is a sound approach, the best under present circumstances. And, taking advantage of this suggestion, I will make a few remarks on some chosen at random.

The magnificent silver dish in the Freer Gallery (pl. 1), representing Shapur II (309-379), belonged formerly to the Stroganoff collection, and was found in 1872 in Wereino (Perm). A glance at the silver dish of the Metropolitan Museum (pl. 31) shows the close affinity of these works, the most conspicuous comparable feature being the projecting right foreleg of the horses. The similarities and dissimilarities of these two salvers were discussed at length by Kurt Erdmann in his learned paper, *Die sassanidischen Jagd-*

schalen (Jb. d. pr. Kst., LVII, pp. 210 ff., Berlin, 1936). Erdmann came to the conclusion that Firuz (457-484) is the king represented on the Metropolitan salver; the sixth century is too late, at any rate.

The Dancing Siva, in the Cleveland museum (pl. 13), is the finest specimen of its kind outside India. It ranges in date between the two famous figures of the Madras museum.

Pl. 18, the Head of Buddha, in the City Art Museum of St. Louis, and, pl. 43, the Head of a Girl, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, both of stucco, are contemporaneous. The provenience given with the St. Louis head, "Tash Kurgan, West Turkestan," makes me assume that the two works come from the same source, the much advertised collection of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, allegedly formed by André Malraux. Asked for information about the places of discovery, Malraux gave them as "three sites lying about 1 km. apart, near Tash Kurgan, on the frontier of Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan" (!) for his "Gothic-Buddhist group," and "Chinese Turkestan" for his "Indo-Hellenistic group" (cf. Bachhofer, *Eine Sammlung nordwestindischer Stuckplastik*, in *Pantheon*, 1932, p. 350). The facts concerning this collection made public by Ernst Waldschmidt in *Die Stuckplastik der Gandhara-Schule*, in *Berichte der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* I, Berlin, 1932, make Malraux appear in a strange light. In short, these sculptures, in all probability, come from the sites around Hadja. I have seen more such heads in American museums, most of them labeled "Chinese Turkestan," but none of them has anything to do with that country.

The Siva from Dong-duong in Cleveland (pl. 45) is an uncommonly fine specimen of Cham sculpture, rarely to be seen outside Indo-China and France.

On the whole American museums are superior to others in the quality of their Chinese sculpture; this applies not only to monumental pieces, but also to small bronzes. The Seated Bodhisattva, in the museum of St. Louis (pl. 8/b), is a work of high quality, great charm, and consummate craftsmanship. Of ancient Chinese bronzes the four-legged caldron of the Freer Gallery (pl. 7), and the large bowl in the Toledo Museum of Art (pl. 28)—as beautiful as it is unusual in shape, being rather a very deep P'an than anything else, but decidedly not a Yu—are the most impressive specimens.

The Nelson Gallery in Kansas City seems to have acquired two highly interesting Chinese paintings. I have not seen the originals, and, therefore, a definite opinion cannot be given; but the Listening to Music (pl. 29) may well go back to T'ang times; Chou Fang (not Feng) is known to have painted a picture like the one in Kansas City, so that much, at least, speaks in favor of an attribution to him. The other picture, Fishing in a Mountain Stream (pl. 35), is labeled: "attributed to Hsü Tao-ning, work of the fifteenth century." This is a case where the old attribution should not be dismissed too quickly. As I have pointed out on several occasions, we are very seldom in a position to ascribe a painting to an individual artist; the most we can hope for is to place it in a definite epoch; now this scroll, from its general conception, composition, and rendering of form, appears to be as much a work of the eleventh century as one may expect, always provided that the state of preservation conforms with such old age. The Five-colored Parakeet in Boston (pl. 2) seems to be, at last, a genuine Hui Tsung.

Two criticisms have to be made: Almost all of the sculptures have been photographed obliquely, which means, in the majority of cases, a complete lack of artistic understanding; only works of a baroque conception allow, or sometimes even demand, such an angle of view. Secondly—and this is a suggestion for the much hoped-for continuation of this valuable publication—the plates should be arranged according to their provenance, at least.

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